



PHD

Climbing Walls, Making Bridges

Capoeira, Parkour and Children of Immigrants' Identity Negotiations in Turin's Public Spaces

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Climbing Walls, Making Bridges: Capoeira, Parkour and Children of Immigrants' Identity Negotiations in Turin's Public Spaces

Nicola De Martini Ugolotti

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

Department of Health

January 2016

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Other than this:

Declaration of authenticity for doctoral theses

I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, contains no material previously published or written in any medium by another person, except where appropriate reference has been made.

ABSTRACT

The following thesis illustrates the relationship between body and space in the process of identity construction amongst groups of young men of migrant origins between 16 and 21 practicing capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces. Urban spaces in contemporary Turin, Italy, are contested sites where competing images of society, politics and citizenship are (re)produced and negotiated. While at a national level widespread xenophobic discourses define immigrants and their children as *alien bodies* in Italian cities, Turin leaderships and cultural entrepreneurs aiming to attract visitors and capital investments based the city urban renewal on an image of multiculturalism and inclusiveness. The intersection of such discourses shapes the manifold ways through which immigrant bodies, and identities, become valorised, pathologised and essentialised in Turin. Based on fourteen months of ethnographic research conducted with a multi-method qualitative approach, this study explores how participants negotiated identity and processes of inclusion/exclusion in Turin, through engaging with capoeira and parkour. The analysis of participants' embodied and emplaced identity negotiations enacted through capoeira and parkour addressed the shifting articulations of race/body/marginality, and the relationship between physical culture(s), spaces and subjectivity within the rebranding urban landscape of early 21st century Turin. The exploration of participants' contested practices of diasporic cosmopolitanism and (contingent) citizenship provided insightful perspectives to address the changing meanings, and stakes of multiculturalism, citizenship and social justice in contemporary European societies. The critical analysis of capoeira and parkour also interrogated the ambivalent nature of participants' negotiations in a historical global context, marked by ubiquitous bio-political health imperatives and individualizing moralities of self-fashioning. The study findings therefore contribute to a scholarship aiming to recognize and articulate global processes within local sites of inequalities and negotiations, in exploring how contemporary identities are constructed and (re)produced within the spaces of our cities.

1. INTRODUCTION

“Why Do I Dance?

Dance is my medicine.

It's the scream which eases

for a while the terrible frustration

common to all human beings who

because of race, creed, or colour are 'invisible'.

Dance is the fist with which I fight

the sickening ignorance of prejudice.”

Pearl Primus (1919-1994). Dancer, Choreographer and Anthropologist.

Within this dissertation I aim to explore the relationship between space, body, and power in the constitution and negotiation of children of immigrants' identity in Turin, Italy. As a starting point for such exploration, I acknowledge that the body and urban spaces often represent sites where social inequalities are embodied, reproduced and localized (Foucault 1970, 1976; Wacquant 2008; Farmer 2003; Silk and Andrews 2008; Silk 2010). However, building on previous research on these topics, this study highlights how the domain of “the physical” (Silk et al., 2015) and urban spaces can represent resources that actors and groups can use to negotiate and challenge power relations and social inequalities (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). Following these premises, this project assumes that a contextualised study of the reciprocal constitution of *body and space* (Silk and Andrews, 2011)

can provide a nuanced and complex reading of agents' self-constitution and navigation of hierarchies of belonging (Back et al. 2012) in contemporary cityscapes and societies.

As a way of an empirical base, this study focuses on the daily practice of capoeira and parkour enacted by groups of young men of migrant origins in Turin's public spaces. Capoeira is an Afro-Brazilian blend of martial arts, dance, music and acrobatics, while parkour is a bodily discipline that makes movement and the creation of personal and creative paths in urban space the foundation of its practice. Both disciplines are knowing worldwide diffusion amongst young people across the world (Fuggle, 2008; Stapleton and Terrio, 2009; Vieira and Röhrig Assunção, 2013; Thorpe and Ahmad, 2013), and meaningfully emplace the body in (public) space, as I will address further in this chapter.

This study represents the continuation and development of previous ethnographic research conducted for my MSc in Medical Anthropology¹ in the summer of 2011 in Turin . The previous research followed a group of (post)migrant youth between 12 and 20 years old who were spontaneously practicing capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces as means to enhance their health and well-being (mainly due to the lack of other opportunities/resources). The study highlighted how the participants' spontaneous, and unrequested pursuit of health and socialization contingently disrupted widespread representations of Turin's public spaces as

¹

“controlled and ordered retreats” (Mitchell, 1995, p. 115), and of (post)migrant bodies as (in)visible “guests” (Palmas, 2009, 2010) in the city's public life, and polity. The research findings suggested that the participants' bodily and spatial engagement with capoeira and parkour could therefore represent in further studies a meaningful site to address the nexus between body, space, power and the self in contemporary urban spaces. Elaborating on these premises, this study has followed groups of young men of migrant origin between 16 and 21 years engaging with capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces. This deeper and longer exploration aims to address how the participants' physical and spatial engagement with both disciplines relates to their process of identity construction, to the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion enacted in early 21st century Turin's cityscape, and to wider and actually existing historical, political and socio economic global processes. The contextualised analysis of the participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour therefore provides a unique perspective to address the discourses, processes, and subjectivities shaping, and being shaped by children of immigrants' practices and negotiations. Through such focus, this study addresses the ‘everyday’ as a site where power, dominant social categories, and identities, can be legitimised, reproduced, and negotiated in actors’ lives (Borden, 2001; Skey, 2010, 2011).

For this research, I engaged in approximately fourteen months of fieldwork between 2014 and 2015. During this period I interacted, discussed, trained, shared experiences and injuries with a group of approximately twenty young men, most of them of migrant background². I participated in their activities on an almost daily basis, as they used capoeira, parkour and public spaces as resources to create, narrate, and imagine personal trajectories of inclusion, belonging and self worth within and beyond Turin cityscape and public life. To address the research objectives, I engaged with several qualitative methods, including ethnography, semi-structured interviews and testimonial narratives, discourse analysis and participatory video-making. Engaging with this multi-method qualitative approach

² Research participants hailed from countries such as Romania, Brazil, Morocco, Senegal, Nigeria, Ukraine, Moldova, Albania, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic.

enabled me to consider the multiple constituencies of identity in the field of research, and to capture the multiplicity of the embodied experience, inscribed on the body and urban spaces through power and discourse, and negotiated by participants through daily practice.

The rationale for this study into (post)migrant youth's embodied and emplaced identity negotiations is the determination to articulate the daily lives, identifications, subjectivities of groups of children of migration with broader socio-economic, political, historical processes characterized by *uneven development* (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996; Brenner and Theodore 2002, 2005) in Turin, Italy, and Europe.

Although children of immigrants are often European cities' newest citizens, they are hardly portrayed as such in public discourse. Public imaginaries of these youth as a threat to a modern and ordered society are perpetuated through the skewed attention they receive in the media and from politicians. Debates about cultural authenticity, renewed nationalism, and waves of moral panic that depict a "Fortress Europe" as "under siege" by illegal and unwanted immigrants, increasingly contribute to immigrants and their children being defined as alien bodies who are "out of place". As Abdelmalek Sayad has argued, in Europe, children of immigrants represent the "inopportune posterity" of migration, an unrequested presence, and a concrete manifestation of the impossibility of two "illusions": the illusion of sanitized, regulated and temporary immigration for host societies, and the illusion of return for immigrants (2002; 2008). Following Sayad, I argue that immigrants and their children, perform a "mirror function" (2002, p. 43), as their position reflects the deep and hidden contradictions and inequalities of European societies, their politics, relationships with their histories, and with the "Other".

The existing literature on the so-called "second generations"³ mainly focused on the

³ The category of second-generation migrants, has been widely criticized in the literature. Palmas

structural factors which which often push the children of migration at the peripheries of our cities, and societies (Sayad 2002, 2008; Boubeker, 2009), even in cases of relatively successful upward social mobility (Beaman 2014). Other studies highlighted the *cleavages*, *de-affiliation processes* and *generational inversions* youth and migrant families face when confronted with the difficulty of finding a way to connect sometimes diverging cultural and moral orders: those of the host country and those of the community of origin (Moro 2003; Yayahoui 2002; Beneduce 2004). Such contributions have shown how socio-economic, historical and political processes can produce deep conflicts between generations and painful experiences of feeling divided, “lost”, among youth, which, in turn, can result in violent and tragic manifestations of unrest. These studies are fundamental in underlining the disruptive effects of social inequalities and dominant regimes of representations in the lives of immigrants and their children. However, these contributions eclipse accounts of the children of immigrants’ daily negotiations of established social prerogatives and identities beyond pre-determined “laws of social physics” which reproduce and maintain their social marginalization (Sayad 2002).

On the other hand, a small body of literature in social sciences (Ngo, 2008; Palmas, 2009, 2010; Palmer, 2009; Schneider, 2005; Jimenez-Sedano, 2012) has suggested that, despite profound social inequalities and painful cleavages, children of immigrants can be successful to a certain extent in mobilizing various resources to build creative processes of identification and belonging, even in marginalizing and objectifying environments. Correspondingly, this research will show how the identity negotiations enacted by participants did not only address the symbolic,

(2006) stressed that this definition reduces a whole biography into an origin or family belonging. The contradictions of this term are meaningfully expressed in Sayad’s words, who wrote that often second generation youth “...Are ‘immigrants’ who have not emigrated from anywhere” (2002, p. 291). In this thesis I will not address the participants of the research through the sociological label of “second generation immigrants”, but I will rather use Sayad terminology of “children of migration”, which in my opinion reflects more accurately the condition of most of participants (including those born of migrant parents in Italy), as well as formulas like “children of immigrants”, “youth born to migrants”, “young men of migrant origins”, “(post)migrant youth”.

aesthetic and textual elements of social life, as some of the aforementioned contributions (and classic studies exploring youth subcultures and leisure practices) have suggested (Hall and Jefferson, 1975; Hebdige, 1979; Palmas, 2009, 2010; Schneider, 2005; Jimenez-Sedano, 2012). Rather, this study will show how the identity negotiations enacted by participants practicing capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces occurred through a complex reinterpretation and redefinition of their bodies and of the spaces they lived and crossed daily.

The nature of the daily practices observed in this study therefore provides an understanding of the role of (active) bodily practices in framing actors' social experiences, and constituting a forum for the manufacturing of individual identities (Giardina & Newman, 2011a). Importantly, the focus on capoeira and parkour will illuminate how participants enacted such negotiations using the same sites through which they were daily objectified and marginalised in Italian society: their bodies and urban spaces.

Following Silk and Andrews (2011), this project is dedicated to the contextually based understanding of mutually constituted bodily and spatial practices (p. 7), and acknowledges that the stakes implied in the social practices here observed “can only be understood by the way in which they are situated and articulated into a particular set of complex social, economic, political, and technological relationships that comprise the social context” (p. 9). In order to provide a contextualized understanding of the phenomena reported in this study, the following sections provide background for Turin, as well as the bodily practices observed in the study: capoeira and parkour.

1.1 SETTING THE SCENE: TURIN, HISTORY AND MIGRATION

This research was conducted in Turin, a city located in the northwest of Italy. Turin is the fourth largest city and the third economic hub in Italy. The city has a long history of immigration beginning in the 1950s, when job opportunities in the industrial sector and other related economic activities attracted many internal migrants from Southern Italy (Merrill 2011). These internal migration flows significantly dropped for various reasons in the early 1980s, however, the need for flexible labour persisted in Turin, and migrants from Southern Italy were rapidly replaced with immigrants from North and West Africa, East Asia, South America, and Eastern Europe starting in the early 1990s (Merrill 2004, p. 193). The region surrounding Turin continued to provide various job opportunities for immigrants in the industrial sector, as well as elder care, cleaning services, and seasonal fruit harvesting in the countryside. Governed by a long-lasting left-oriented municipality, Turin was one of the first Italian cities, together with Naples, to promote its image as immigrant friendly through a series of municipality laws aiming to promote immigrant integration and multiculturalism (Schmoll and Semi 2013). However, despite the municipality efforts (Schmoll and Semi, 2013), Turin, and Italy as a whole, have witnessed the rise of openly racist organizations (including political parties), and experienced increasing acts of intolerance toward immigrants and their families since the early 1990s. Mass media, and particularly the press, have contributed to the creation of on-going waves of moral panic, which depicted migrants as a "national pollutant" (Merrill 2011) and responsible for the city's criminality, violence⁴ and "moral decay" (Dal Lago 1999; Calavita 2005; Palmas 2009). The economic crisis, which affected the city in the early 2000s and brought an effective collapse of heavy industry (the economic core of the city) helped to

⁴ As imaginable, the recent terroristic attacks happened in Paris on the 7th January and 13th november 2015 created a subsequent wave of moral panic toward Muslim communities in the in Italy. On the wake of the attacks slogans such as "The enemy is within us" or the more crude "They'll slit our throats" uttered by Matteo Salvini, leader of the far-right wing *Lega Nord*, currently the third political party in Italy, spread through Italian main means of communication. Sadly, alarmist discourses as Salvini's, who also reprimanded Pope Francis for "being too open toward Muslims", spread successfully in the context described in these pages. I assume therefore that studies like this one become dramatically important at the light of the ever present "war on terror" discourses and the recent developments of the "immigration/refugee crisis" in Europe. As such, this study aims, amongst its other objectives, to provide a framework enabling to illuminate daily inequalities and viable alternatives to revanchist and xenophobic logics enacting in contemporary Italian and European societies.

worsen the above-mentioned dynamics. Factories closed or drastically reduced the number of employees; thousands of temporary workers, most of whom were immigrants, were fired with few opportunities to be re-integrated in a stagnant job market.

The fragile balance that had allowed migrants to be “welcomed” in Italian society due to the need for temporary, highly flexible workers for low-qualified jobs, or what Ambrosini (2007) termed “works of the three Ds”—dangerous, dirty, demeaning— suddenly collapsed. The last few years have seen the rise of nationalistic rhetoric like “Italians first” or “No to a Multi-Ethnic Italy” among a disillusioned population that seems scared and confused by the effects of the economic crisis. This rhetoric has contributed to the endorsement of increasingly restrictive laws for civil rights, work and residence for foreigners in Italy (Rossi 2011).

1.1.1 Rebranding the City “That Looked Like a Factory”: Turin Neoliberal Transformations

The municipality of Turin, together with its main cultural-economic lobbies, responded the decay of the “Italian Detroit” and its core economic sector, heavy industry, by trying to rebrand the city image and transform it from a “city that looked like a factory” (Bagnasco 1986), to an European and international capital of culture, tourism and leisure. The symbol of such rebranding was the motto the municipality of Turin chose to represent the city's new image worldwide: “Torino Always On The Move” (Martina 2002). According to the official declarations provided by the municipality of Turin and the advertising agency which created the motto, this slogan would symbolically represent and guide the process that would transform and re-discover Turin as a dynamic and socially inclusive contemporary European city (Martina 2002).



Figure 1. Fiat's Mirafiori factory plants, for decades the symbol of the city economic and industrial significance at a national and international scale.

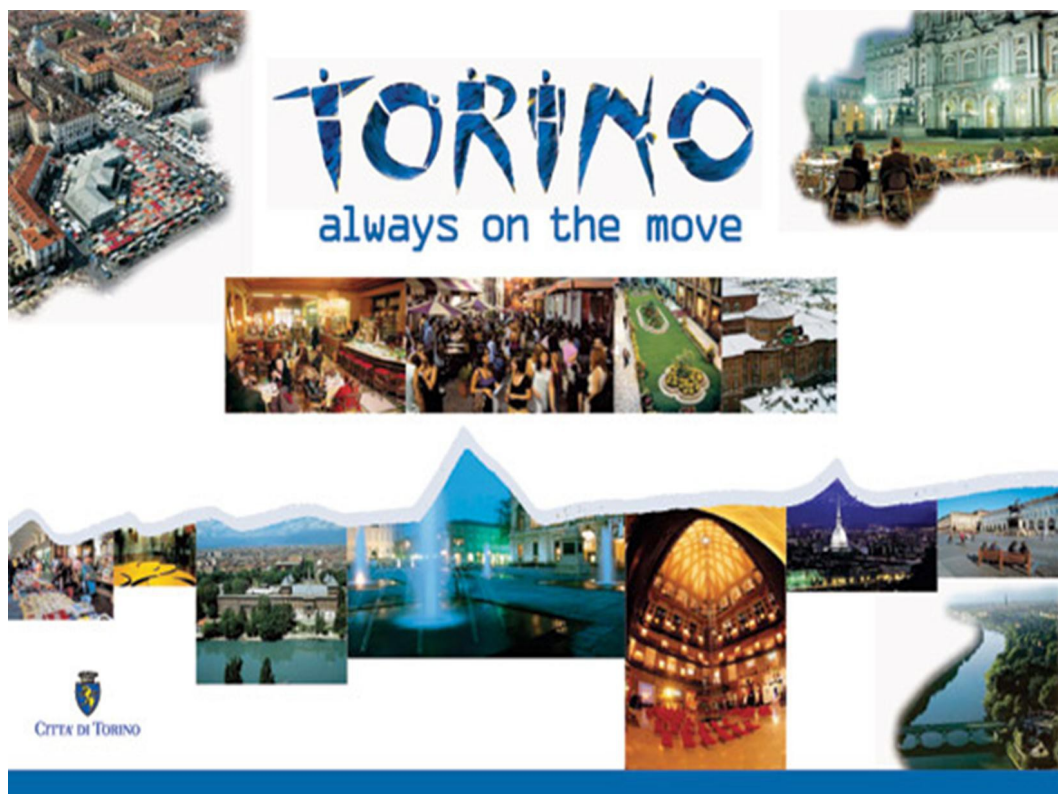


Figure 2. Turin's image changing from an industrial hub to a city of history and culture in its 2002 first promotional campaign.

More concretely, Turin's rebranding process that aimed to reshape the city's

economic, and social, landscape, materialized in radical spatial and social transformations that involved the city centre and the industrial periphery alike. The municipality's and urban investors' motives were justified and made possible by hosting mega sport events, like the 2006 Winter Olympic Games (Dansero and Puttilli 2010). As Dansero and Puttilli highlighted, Torino's city council and main economic-cultural entrepreneurs, perceived that the hosting of the Winter Olympic Games was a unique opportunity to reposition the city on a global scale, by updating the city's image and presenting it as a tourist destination, as previously happened in Barcelona, and later in Vancouver (2010, p. 324).

Turin municipality and its main economic-cultural lobbies enacted a series of local initiatives aimed to promote Turin image as a multicultural and cosmopolitan centre in order to attract visitors and financial investments. As Schmoll and Semi argued in a recent study (2013) such initiatives can be considered as an example of “multiculturalism from above” (p. 385), relying mainly on one of the most fashionable, consumable, and less challenging aspects of multicultural contexts: *food* (p. 387). Through the promotion of multi-ethnic street markets and the organization of high-end international food fairs (as the internationally renowned *Terra Madre* and *Salone del Gusto*), the city of Turin endorsed a *palatable* and *visible* image of cultural diversity, appealing to the eyes of cosmopolitan, sophisticated travellers “open to otherness” (Glick Schiller et al., 2011) and fascinated by exotic tastes (Schmoll and Semi 2013, p. 388). Thus, the appealing and optimistic aura underlying Turin's new motto, image, initiatives, and spatial transformations conveyed an idea of (economic) dynamism, inclusiveness, and trust in the future. Following Turin's development agency enthusiastic tag-lines, it was intrinsically implied that the city of Turin, and its inhabitants, were heading toward a desired, yet abstract, idea of urban economic “development”. However, the optimistic and positive aura surrounding a rebranded image of Turin left some critical questions unanswered, for example: what kind of development the city was moving towards? What consequences, tensions, inequalities would the

transformations create for the city inhabitants, minorities and marginal social groups? How would these social groups negotiate such transformations?

These questions gain importance especially in relation to the position occupied by immigrants in Turin's public life. As Schmoll and Semi (2013) have noted, Turin “multiculturalism from above” represent a stark example of the divide between multicultural policies and multicultural realities in contemporary urban contexts. The authors highlighted the fact that the city-sponsored multiculturalism enhanced an ethnicisation of immigrants' trading and living practices, contributing to essentialise migrants' economic and social trajectories, and identities, while at the same time eclipsing more concrete, daily practices of ordinary multiculturalism happening in the urban context.

1.1.2 Policing Turin's (Safe) Streets

The municipality of Turin, its cultural entrepreneurs, and urban development corporations, celebrated Turin's supposed social inclusiveness through festive events and parades, mainly portraying an exotic and aestheticized vision of multiculturalism as pleasant diversity (Mitchell 1995; Silk and Andrews 2008). However, simultaneously, since the early 2000s the city public spaces started to be reconfigured in the name of security (Rose 2000b, p. 329; Wacquant 2008) mainly at the expenses of the marginal groups usually attending such spaces: homeless and immigrants. Such process culminated in 2008 with the enactment, of the operation “Safe streets”, together with other Italian cities⁵. Operation Safe Streets was one of the first pieces of a still operating “emergency”⁶ legislation introduced under Berlusconi's centre-right coalition with the xenophobic Northern League (*Lega*

⁵ Milan, Rome, Padova, Bologna, Genova, Napoli, Palermo, Bari, Perugia.

⁶ Due to a supposed “state of emergency” regarding public order, the operation was not authorized through the usual legislative path (requiring a formal vote from the Italian Parliament), but through a Prime Minister's Decree Law.

Nord). As a national programme, it mandated the Italian Army to join city police patrolling the “hottest” city neighbourhoods, namely those mostly inhabited by immigrants, and brought to highly spectacular operations of urban cleansing both in the city centre, peripheral neighbourhoods parks and public spaces in general.



Figure 3. Joint police/army patrol “stop & search” routine in a peripheral park (Photo: Bogdan)



Figure 4. Anti-drug patrol in one of the participants' favourite training spots (Photo: Micha)

The progressive militarization of public spaces in predominantly immigrant inhabited neighbourhood coincided with a growing process of criminalization of immigrants' presence in public spaces (Wacquant 2008). Immigrants in public

spaces were increasingly profiled through ethnic body types and associated with potential criminal or morally scandalous activities (i.e. East Europeans as thugs, thieves, pimps and sexual offenders, North and West Africans as drug dealers, pickpockets and sexual offenders, Latin Americans as gang members, potentially every “non-native” looking woman in public spaces as a possible sex worker [Merrill 2004, p. 195]). As a consequence of these dynamics, Turin, as many Italian cities, witnessed the development of crime prevention, and humanitarian reception strategies which devised paralegal methods of confinement (Rose 2000a; see also Bigo, 2006) as means to contain and manage the “undesirables” (Agier 2011) reaching Italian borders, and invading urban public spaces. The above mentioned security policies towards migrants, and the institution of “exceptional”, temporally indefinite quarantine areas for asylum seekers and undocumented migrants represent two examples of these trends. These actions highlight how a discourse on “risk management” for immigrant populations increasingly placed the burden of uncertainty and social tensions on individuals, who are often ethnically profiled, rather than addressing socio-structural and historical contingencies (Rose 2000a; 2000b; Bigo, 2006).

The case of Turin proves useful to observe and analyse a process emerging in many contemporary European cities (See also Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011). In this context we see two apparently opposing dynamics. On a State level, policies towards immigrants are directed towards confining, policing and limiting migrants' access to national borders, and towards the surveillance of (post)migrants residing within them (Bigo, 2006). Turin's rebranding process was instead constructed on an image of a multicultural and cosmopolitan city where the migrants' (essentialised and ethnicised) presence in city life was considered as valuable, and an appealing characteristic in the eyes of visitors and world travellers⁷ (“You Can Bet On Torino”, 2014). However, these dynamics should not be seen as opposites, rather they show the complex constitution of contemporary cities, and city spaces, at the

⁷ <http://youcanbetontorino.it/>

intersection of local, national, and global processes (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Brenner 2011). Therefore, Turin represents a meaningful example of a neoliberal(ising) city (Brenner and Theodore 2002, p.353) where global dynamics of capital restructuring resonate with national discriminatory regulations towards migrants (and other marginal social groups), and a festive valorisation of difference. Turin's urban rebranding policies aim to ensure the city economic competitiveness on a global level as a multicultural and international capital of "culture, knowledge and innovation" (You Can Bet on Torino, 2014). As Dansero and Puttilli (2010) have highlighted, these policies absorbed large local budgets while integrating private and public sectors (Bondonio and Guala, 2011, p. 316; Bottero, Levi Sacerdotti and Mauro 2012, p. 204), but consisted mainly of a systematic orientation of the city as a re-developed hub for (tourist) consumption, such as hotels, restaurants and shopping districts (Dansero and Puttilli, 2010, p.327). Brenner and Theodore (2002) described the tourist, and market-oriented territorial developments and place-promotions as a linchpin of transnational neoliberalism, a mobilization of public-private initiatives generally characterized by shrinking and/or privatising of public services, dismantling welfare programs, enhancing international capital mobility, and criminalising the urban poor (p. 350). The effectiveness of Turin's recent neoliberal rebranding initiatives is still controversial. Current socio-economic analysis is divided between enthusiast supporters of the city finally achieving status as an international tourism capital (Bondonio and Guala, 2011; Bottero, Sacerdotti and Mauro 2012), and more cautious analysis of Turin's Olympic legacy that are particularly dubious about the city's rebranding as an international tourist attraction (Dansero and Puttilli 2010, p. 332; CGIA, 2014). It is worth interrogating anyway the outcomes of Turin's rebranding process *beyond* the city's relatively delimited touristic sector. As Brenner and Theodore (2002) highlighted, the neoliberal strategies enacted in cities like Turin often severely exacerbated many of the problems they ostensibly aspired to resolve (i.e. economic stagnation, unemployment, socio spatial polarization and uneven development). In the past 15 years the implementation of new legislation from the regional government, such as Law 18/1999, favoured stimulating private

companies to “enrich and valorise touristic areas” with public funding, (Bottero, Levi Sacerdotti and Mauro, 2012, p. 208), mainly by supporting the construction of tourist, or tourism related structures⁸. However, in recent surveys Turin's municipality is the most indebted city council in Italy (CGIA, 2013) and the poorest city in the industrial north of the country (Presa Diretta 2013). It has the highest unemployment rates in the 15-29 age range (Cassi, 2014), and the last 10 years has suffered major cuts in welfare services. In this context, capoeira and parkour represent practices wrought with contradictions indicative of current trends within Turin's urban politics. As I mentioned earlier, both disciplines imply a spontaneous and irreverent engagement with urban spaces that often creates social frictions and conflicts about what constitutes “the public”, how it should be used, and by whom. Nevertheless, capoeira and parkour have been incorporated, though in different ways, into the city's tourist-oriented spectacle, and have been extensively endorsed by events celebrating Turin's vibrancy and diversity. Capoeira exhibitions are a regular feature of municipal, and private, sponsored (multi)cultural festivals in Turin (as the one addressed in Chapter 5). Parkour performances represents a common attraction in youth-oriented commercial events, and the “art of displacement” is featured in a Turin municipality's promotional video⁹ for (prospective) tourists. The participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour therefore highlighted these disciplines as ambivalent sites for both practicing and contesting urban governance (Vivoni, 2009, p. 130). The ambivalent role that both practices occupied in Turin's rebranding process, and in the participants' daily contested process of self-constitution, enabled me to address capoeira and parkour as a unique lens to consider the consequences and fault-lines of Turin's processes of spatial, and social, regeneration. Furthermore, the focus on these disciplines facilitated the articulation of the above-mentioned processes with the participants' negotiations of self, place and belonging.

⁸ “Thanks to Law 18, a total of 26,099 new beds, 10,198 rooms, 171 completely new hotels and 76 new or completely renovated hotels with four or five stars were created [in Turin].” (Bottero, Sacerdotti and Mauro, 2012, p. 208)

⁹ As: <http://www.torinoemotion.it/news051115/>

1.2 CAPOEIRA, PARKOUR AND PUBLIC SPACES: A RATIONALE

Observing a relatively small, but consistent, group of young people deliberately engaged in capoeira and parkour practice in Turin's public spaces, I assumed that paying attention to these places would give me valuable insights on what was at stake in the research participants' lives (Lindegaard 2009). What examining children of immigrants engaging in capoeira and parkour made meaningful was the practices' characteristics of slipping between organizing and regulating activities. Although capoeira and parkour are also taught in structured courses in gyms and social projects in Turin, the engagement respondents' had with these two bodily disciplines went far beyond these forms training, and involved their everyday life contexts more widely. The young men I met during the research preferred to choose the places for capoeira and parkour on the way to school, or while "keeping an eye" on younger siblings in the park, and did not require a dedicated, regulated time or space. Therefore, I observed and followed children of immigrants choosing and transforming anonymous public spaces (e.g. public parks, walking paths, empty parking lots, street corners, abandoned factories) into playgrounds and free open-air gyms, and as means of socialization, (contested) belonging and self-constitution. I decided to focus on their physical practices despite more popular sports (i.e. football, basketball) that involve large numbers of participants in public spaces, and that have been widely instituted and considered in policies and social interventions as tools of social inclusion for disenfranchised youth. Interestingly, substantial contributions to the sociology of sport and physical cultural studies underlined the ambivalent role that organized sporting activities and programs take in the enactment of social governance practices in disadvantaged urban areas (Spaaij, 2009a, 2009b; Agergaard et al. 2015). Silk (2004, 2007, 2008) for example documented how the constitution of "sterile spaces of play" for leisure and popular sporting activities in contemporary regenerate urban landscapes favoured the emergence of sites where both the "valorized and pathologized" (Silk and Andrews,

2008, p. 397) urban bodies are made visible, regulated and managed. Therefore, my interest in the public enactment of capoeira and parkour practices in Turin directs my focus towards participants' bodies not through the regulating arenas of dominant sport forms, but rather the spontaneous diffusion “from the bottom” of popular and transnational bodily practices amongst urban youth to investigate the value and social implications that such sites represent.

1.2.1 Embodying Subversion? Analysing Capoeira and Parkour

Capoeira and parkour may be distinct disciplines, but both have captured young people's imagination in various urban contexts (Fuggle 2008, p. 205). Although there are no official statistics for precisely quantifying capoeira and parkour practitioners worldwide, the increasing number of capoeira and parkour schools and groups around the globe has been acknowledged both in academic and specialised literature in both disciplines (Stapleton and Terrio, 2009; Thorpe and Ahmad, 2013; Vieira and Röhrig Assunção, 2013). One probable reason for the rapid diffusion of the two practices is that both disciplines do not have coherent definitions, thus enabling *capoeiristas* (or simply *capoeiras*) and *traceurs*¹⁰ to find their own meaning in the practice. Moreover, the history and the practice of both disciplines vividly reminds me of De Certeau's notion of tactics as "the ingenious ways in which the weak make use of the strong," (1984, p. xx). Capoeira and parkour were developed in different historical, socio-political and geographical contexts by marginalized groups within unequal power relations (capoeira by slaves and their descendants in Brazil, parkour by disenfranchised youth in French suburbs). Both disciplines seem to meaningfully embody in their use of movement and space the capacity to insinuate themselves into the spaces created and governed by dominant groups in society, always on the watch for opportunities in time (De Certeau, 1984, p. xix).

¹⁰ Capoeira and Parkour practitioners

1.2.2 “A Dialogue of Bodies”: Capoeira

According to many capoeira *mestres* (masters) and scholars, the origins of capoeira can be traced to the 17th century in Brazil when enslaved Africans seized any occasion to flee their owner’s plantations and mines and reach the forests to establish hidden and renovated communities called *quilombos* (Lewis 1992; Downey 2005). Capoeira was a form of physical exercise practiced mainly by young men, and to a minor extent women¹¹, and meant to maintain fitness for self-defence, as well as slaves' cultural and spiritual heritage. The *capoeiristas* hid their martial training in apparently “innocent” form of dance to avoid prohibitions, and punishments, by slave owners. Capoeira is played by couples in a *roda* (circle of practitioners) while the *bateria* (orquestra) play and sing music, an outstanding feature of capoeira, with instruments such as a *berimbau* (a single-string percussion instrument), the *atabaque* (drum), the *pandeiro* (tambourine) and the *agogô* (double cow-bell). The *berimbau* is the leading instrument in the *roda*. This instrument is of African origin and has a long steel string fixed between the shell of a gourd-like fruit and the top of a long wooden neck.



Figure 5. Berimbau

¹¹ Although mainly practiced by men, semi-legendary feminine figures such as *Maria doze homens* (Mary “twelve men” the number of contestant she defeated in one bout), or Rosa Palmeirao (who inspired Jorge Amado's character in his book “Sea of Death”, 2013 [1936]) emerged as valued and respected capoeiras in the *rodas* of early 20th century Bahia.



Figure 6. Atabaque (back) and pandeiro (front)



Figure 7. pandeiro (Photos from participatory documentary).

The *berimbau* is usually played by the master or the group's senior member and determines the rhythm of the play. Various *toques* (rhythms) mark the styles of play and influence and interact with the players during the game, together with singing (also an important and constituent element of the practice). During the games, *capoeiristas* must pay attention to the messages coming from the *roda*, songs or rhythms, while at the same time trying to challenge their opponent and adequately counter his or her attacks. As the word suggests, many practitioners do not consider the capoeira game as a challenge with a winner or loser. Rather, it can be seen as a "dialogue of bodies" (Fuggle 2008) as one player questions the other and tries to leave the opponent "without answers," using bodily mastery and trickery rather than physical domination. Though its almost mythical origin can be traced in the plantations, mines and communities of fleeing slaves in the tropical forest, capoeira emerged as a widely recognized, and criminalized, practice in

Brazilian urban areas¹² in the late 18th century (Lewis 1992; Downey 2005; Taylor 2005, 2007). Capoeira games were played mainly in public squares, streets, markets and, during religious festivities, in front of churches. Although criminalized and punished with six months in prison, *capoeiristas* continued to perform in public spaces, sometimes hiding themselves in public celebrations (I.e. the above mentioned religious festivities), while other times interrupting their performances to engage in fights with the policemen who arrived to stop them. After capoeira was legalized in 1937, it was increasingly structured as a mainly gym-oriented activity; however, capoeiristas' relationships with urban spaces did not lose intensity, although it was still marginalized in Brazil for decades and to some extent even today. Therefore, public *rodas* and capoeira performances in streets, markets, parks and squares remain fundamental elements of its practice¹³. In 2014 UNESCO recognized capoeira as “Intangible World Heritage” therefore acknowledging the worldwide diffusion and cultural relevance of the discipline.

1.2.3 “To Escape and to Reach”: Parkour

Unlike capoeira, parkour does not rely on centuries of history and practice, but instead it gained worldwide visibility and diffusion soon after being created in France. The main founders of parkour, Davide Belle, the son of French working class parents, and Sebastian Foucan, the son of Guadeloupan migrants, developed the practice in the late 1980s by applying training methods they had learned from Belle’s father (a fire-fighter) together with Belle’s own military and fire-fighter training. The name parkour derives from the expression *parcours du combattant* (fighter’s tracks), a system developed in the early twentieth century by George

¹² For example Salvador de Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Recife.

¹³ The presence of respected street rodas in Brazil's main cities such as Rio de Janeiro (Lavrado, Mercadinho, Caxias), Salvador (*Mestre* Lua Rasta's fridays rodas at Terreiro de Jesus), Belo Horizonte (7 de Setembro Square), Sao Paulo (Roda da Republica) are the most known examples showing the thick relationship between the practice of capoeira and public space in Brazil.

Hèbert as a training method for the French military and subsequently used by fire-fighters (Brown 2007).



Figure 8. Practicing parkour movements in a typical training “spot”.

Belle and Foucan grew up in Lisses, a Parisian suburb and trained in their local environment. They were motivated by the lack of activities and opportunities for entertainment available to young people in their town (Fuggle 2008). With parkour they were able to transform the urban environment into a playground using physical obstacles as supports to cross through and over spaces and to live in new ways in the city spaces. Practically, parkour consists of using all available urban obstacles to move from one point to another in the least number of possible movements and, simultaneously paying attention to the fluidity and simplicity of movements. It is evident that this view of an urban setting pushes practitioners to re-imagine the city space, its elements and surfaces (i.e. benches, walls, rails) in creative ways as holds, supports or trampolines for running leaps, flips and other acrobatic moves to reach targets. Practicing parkour does not require special equipment or structures and thus, it can be practiced virtually whenever and wherever. These conditions encourage the practice by urban youth who lack amusement and leisure opportunities especially in peripheral neighbourhoods.

According to David Belle, parkour's objectives are to escape from dangerous and hostile situations and to reach new levels of ability, body mastery and self-improvement (Fuggle 2008).

1.2.4 Capoeira and Parkour in Literature

In general, a consistent body of literature on capoeira has addressed its cultural and historical aspects (Almeida, 1981; Lewis, 1992; Taylor, 2005, 2007). However, more recent contributions have addressed the transformation of capoeira as a cultural practice through its worldwide diffusion in relation to masculinity, habitus (Delamont, 2006a, 2006b; Delamont and Stephens, 2008; Rosario et al., 2010; Stephens and Delamont, 2009, 2010, 2013; Downey, 2005; Joseph, 2008, 2012; Owen 2014), religiosity (Merrell, 2005; Nascimento, 2013), and the “sportization” and “professionalisation” of capoeira (Aceti, 2013; Wesolowski, 2013). Although such contributions are meaningful, they focused mainly on how the experience of capoeira has been transmitted and mediated by capoeira teachers or groups, and as a semi-structured “sportifying” practice in Brazil or First World contexts. On the other hand, the main focus of this study is to explore how the embodied vocabulary of capoeira has been re-appropriated and transformed by practitioners outside gyms and fitness centres, in urban public spaces around the globe.

Literature on parkour focused mainly on the liberating relationship and opportunities that the discipline affords practitioners within contemporary urban spaces (Atkinson, 2009, 2012; Bavinton, 2011; Daskalaki et al., 2008; Guss, 2011; Marshall, 2010; Mould, 2009; Saville, 2008; Lamb 2014a, 2014b; Benasso, 2015). Unfortunately, fewer contributions have researched the possibilities of researching parkour in relation to different topics such as relationship with other lifestyle sports (Fuggle, 2008; De Martini Ugolotti, 2015), sport policies and sport for development interventions (Gilchrist and Wheaton, 2011; Thorpe and Ahmad,

2013; Ferrero Camoletto, Sterchele and Genova, 2015), masculinity, gender relations, and commodification of youth expression (Stapleton and Terrio, 2009; Kidder, 2013). Stapleton and Terrio (2009) and Kidder's (2013) studies provided insightful critical perspectives on the discipline. Their insights meaningfully integrated widespread readings that framed parkour mainly in terms of “subversive resistance to oppressive city space” (Stapleton and Terrio, 2009, p. 19). Stapleton and Terrio (2009) highlighted how, in contrast to the narratives that stress parkour as an activity that is untainted by commercialism, its very existence as a global phenomenon stems from its appropriation and commodification by corporate marketers and elite tastemakers (p. 22). Kidder (2013) instead, observed groups of traceurs in Chicago, and addressed the (unintentional) exclusionary results of traceurs' performance of masculinity. In this work I will draw on the multiple readings available on parkour to address its inherent ambiguity “that does not give any particular clear or finished blueprint for action” (Saville, 2008, p. 892). Therefore, in order to address the meanings and stakes of the participants' engagement with parkour and capoeira in Turin, it is necessary to compare the disciplines' ambivalent characteristics, and the participants' uses of both practices in the context of research.

1.2.5 Comparative Perspectives on Capoeira and Parkour

It can be argued that capoeira and parkour mainly differ in the relationship they establish with (public) space and the object of their bodily dialogue. While capoeira's relationship with space is mediated by the group of participants, and a bodily interaction is established with another practitioner, parkour implies a more individual relationship with space, which is the main ‘partner’ of every *traceur*, despite the fact that it is usually practiced in groups. Within capoeira, space can be an arena to publicly display physical and artistic abilities and gain public recognition, even if temporarily. However, capoeira's use and management of space

is also a fundamental component of the capoeiristas' bodily dialogue, as every player look for cracks and fissures in the opponent's game to use them as spaces to manoeuvre, escape, counter, and successfully perform unexpected blows and sweeps. On the other hand, the *traceur* engages in an individual and intimate relationship with the forms, surfaces, flows of people and objects that compose the fluid and unfolding constituencies of urban space, what Saville described as an "emotional refiguring of spatial possibilities" (Saville, 2008, p. 892). Nevertheless, both practices seem to suggest a specific experience of bodies, and the surrounding space by explicitly recognising perception as our primary mode of being-in-the-world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), and by grounding subjective existence in the body rather than in the mind (Fuggle, 2008, p. 214). Parkour's intimate and personal relationships transform space as a ground of experience, allowing the practitioner to recognise, embrace and possibly overcome, their feelings, such as fear or lack of confidence (Saville, 2008). Capoeira makes the ongoing body/space interaction the founding element of a process of self-discovery and expression that uses the opponent's body, and the physical and relational space of the game to appreciate, accept, and possibly transform one's limitations, potentialities, and emotive reactions. Therefore, although capoeira and parkour engage with space in distinct ways, they both meaningfully emplace the body in urban spaces and enable a deep, multifaceted analysis of the participants' bodily and spatial negotiations in the research context. Acknowledging how body, self and space are mutually constituted in both disciplines can thus inform meaningful theoretical advancements on how we can understand the emplaced, moving body in daily, urban and sporting environments (see also Pink, 2011). Notwithstanding the evident differences between the practices, capoeira and parkour present some striking commonalities, especially in how they have been re-appropriated and used by the participants in this study. Most of them practiced both capoeira and parkour in public spaces, often mixing movements and techniques, and many reported integrated benefits and features in both practices (i.e. management of risk, danger and violence, increased bodily consciousness and awareness of emotional reactions, embodied ways of knowing and experiencing the world, "liberating"

experiences in overcoming physical limitations). In relation to the participants' re-appropriation of capoeira and parkour, and the often combined use of these practices (which brought some of them to jokingly claim they trained “Parkoeira” rather than two separate disciplines), I will therefore address both disciplines in this study as lifestyle sports (Wheaton, 2010).

I address the practices observed in this study with this term, aware of the flourishing nomenclature surrounding activities trespassing the boundaries of organized sports (see Wheaton, 2010). Therefore, I draw on Atkinson (2009) who argued that is not “the form and context” of sport practices but their “orientation and use” that create fundamental differences in addressing (post)sport practices and spaces. Following this lead, the use of this term represented an heuristic choice to reflect participants' own definition of both disciplines as “sports” and of their engagement with them as “lifestyle”, as the discussion chapters will show. Although the use of such analytical category may sound unproblematic and has been already used in regard to parkour (see Gilchrist and Wheaton, 2011), on the other hand no literature refers to capoeira as a lifestyle sport, and therefore my choice in this sense needs a bit more of elaboration. Several authors writing on capoeira (Assunção, 2005; Delamont and Stephens, 2008; Joseph, 2012) referred to it as a diasporic practice, and highlighted how Brazilian teachers reinforced through pedagogic methods their link to their homeland, thus reiterating the indisputable Afro-Brazilian roots of this increasingly globalised discipline (see Assunção, 2005; Delamont and Stephens, 2008; Rosario et al., 2010). Adding to that, Joseph (2012) observed that the production of African/black diaspora discourses within capoeira teachers and practitioners in Canada was not limited to *capoeiristas* of African descent (p. 1083).

Acknowledging the insightful perspectives on capoeira offered by these authors, this study provides nevertheless a different perspective. In doing this, I draw on Wheaton (2010), who argued that often lifestyle sports affiliations tend to operate

more transnationally than other forms of organized sports or, I add in the case of capoeira, culturally connoted physical activities. The research participants from diverse backgrounds who enthusiastically engaged with capoeira, and with the linguistic, cultural, expressive world(s) related to its practice, did not seem to forcibly refer or identify their experiences, ambitions and affiliation to the Afro-Brazilian roots of this discipline, or to other diasporic identities. Rather, in the discussion chapters I will show how in the research context capoeira was appropriated by young men of various origins who filled it with meanings and values that, although often and intensely relating to the discipline's Afro-Brazilian origins, intensely addressed local uses and issues (Moyer, 2005). In other words, although participants of diverse backgrounds were enthusiastically learning and engaging with the language(s), history and cultural manifestations related to capoeira and Afro-Brazilian culture, they poached (De Certeau, 1984; Scheinder, 2005) and included such references in a wider, emerging, creolised cultural landscape where diverse power relations and physical, expressive, linguistic, religious, moral references co-existed. I see this as the main difference in perspective from the existing literature on capoeira that connoted it as a diasporic practice and focused on the transmission of its practice by Brazilian masters (or by more rare, but existing, non-Brazilian teachers) in structured trainings in gyms, university halls, community centres or festivals¹⁴ (Assunção, 2005; Delamont, 2006; Delamont and Stephens, 2008; Joseph, 2012). Drawing on these considerations, I assume that the various definitions of capoeira as diasporic, or glocalised (see Wisse, 2011) practice, or as a lifestyle sport, depend on the subjects, intended both in terms of individuals and topics, on which we focus our attention as researchers. As highlighted by Delamont and Stephens (2008, p. 61), research on Brazilian capoeira teachers and practitioners outside Brazil will rightly see it as a

¹⁴ Being myself a non-Brazilian capoeira teacher, I feel the responsibility and the pleasure to learn (and to a certain extent embody), know and transmit specific bodily, expressive, historical and cultural elements to my students. However, I neither draw on the Afro-Brazilian diaspora to define myself nor aspire to “return” to it (see Delamont and Stephens, 2008, p. 60). Rather, I am engaged, with some differences and similarities with research participants, in a process of self-making that undeniably brings together my self-constitution, and presentation, as *capoeirista* with other references, lifestyles, and affiliations.

diasporic practice. On the other hands, studies on committed non-Brazilian teachers or practitioners may underline capoeira's glocalised features in terms of its hybridizing cultural references (see Wisse, 2011). Adding to that, addressing capoeira as a lifestyle sport, as in this study, can enable to highlight how physical practices deeply relate to actors' processes of identification and self-fashioning in our cultural present (see also Wheaton, 2010, 2015). In this study I therefore understand the uses, values and meanings attached by participants' mainly informal practice of capoeira in Turin public spaces as indicative of a discipline that, although strongly connected with its Afro-Brazilian essence, is daily re-constructed and signified through contextual and diversified uses and applications. Such diverse, shifting and ambivalent uses intertwine indissolubly the origins and cultural heritage of capoeira with the subjectivities and localities by which, and in which it is played. This elucidation thus does not argue against the concept of capoeira as a diasporic practice¹⁵, or other definitions, but rather aims to enrich these perspectives by offering previously under-addressed point of views and analysis on the discipline. I assume that the perspective proposed can underline participants' contextualized and contingent uses and re-appropriations, and can enable to document and provide contextualised perspectives on the ongoing and rapid changes imbued with capoeira's worldwide diffusion (see also Delamont and Stephens 2008, p. 61-62).

In line with other contributions in literature, Fuggle (2008) considered capoeira and parkour as “discourses of subversion”. The author argued that by teaching practitioners to look for cracks and fissures within the games, and to use them as spaces to manoeuvre both physically and strategically, capoeira prepares practitioners to do the same in society and in situations of power asymmetries (p. 213). On the other hand, parkour questions established ways of using and

¹⁵ It is important at this point to mention that, as described, during fieldwork I met several capoeira practitioners of Brazilian, but also Non-Brazilian, origins who meaningfully related with capoeira as coherently with the definition given by Delamont and Stephens as a diasporic practice (2008, p. 60). However, this related mainly to capoeiristas who practiced only capoeira and mostly in the context of structured courses in gyms/community centres (if we exclude occasional demonstrations for promotional/public events).

inhabiting architectural spaces, and thus challenges the practitioner to imagine creative and personal ways in which urban spaces can be lived and crossed (p. 213). Drawing on a Foucauldian framework, Fuggle (2008) argued that the subversion carried out by capoeira and parkour practitioners takes the form of a negotiation, rather than an outspoken conflict or organized demonstration. Capoeiristas and traceurs do not react or try to abolish the physical and social constraints affecting their lives: instead they re-interpret, transform and use them for their own purposes. In this work, I will address how, and to what extent, the subversion embodied in capoeira and parkour can go beyond the theoretical, allowing (post)migrant and disenfranchised youth to create their own literal spaces within the powerful constraints and hierarchies of the society in which they live. I will elaborate my findings acknowledging the work of scholars who highlighted specific historical conditions and power relations with the emergence of both practices. In regard to capoeira, Merrel argued that this discipline represented an “expression of denial, denial of the colonial system that subjected them [Afro-Brazilian slaves and their descendants] to a subhuman existence” (Merrel, 2005, p. 5). As Stapleton and Terrio (2009, p. 19) pointed out, parkour practice was developed and spread in the late 1980s, mainly by the so-called “second generation of immigrants” in France, in a historical period of economic restructuring, unemployment and aggressive security policies towards immigrants in French *cités* (suburban peripheries)¹⁶. In conclusion, while considering capoeira and parkour's potential of subversion in this study, I will address the negotiation enacted through both practices as both *embodied* and *emplaced*, since participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour is deeply entwined with the public spaces where these practices take place.

¹⁶ Movies like “La Haine” (The Hate, 1995), and “La Ville Est Tranquille” (The city is quiet, 2000), together with novels like “Disintegrated, Choral Story of a Generation of Immigrants” (Djouder, 2007) represent vividly such historical and social context in France.

1.2.6 Masculinity and Gender Relations

Although on a primal level the use of public spaces by capoeira and parkour practitioners can carry a subversive reversal, these practices also represent highly commodified global popular cultures that predominantly attract, and are managed by, young men (see Stapleton and Terrio, 2009; Kidder, 2013 on parkour; Joseph, 2012; Robitaille, 2014 on capoeira). Such assumptions were supported by my experience in the field, where I rarely met young women regularly practicing capoeira and parkour in public spaces. The lack of female participation provided hints regarding the possible reproduction of hegemonic gender differences and power relations within capoeira and parkour groups as suggested by Joseph (2012) and Kidder (2013). In particular, drawing on Kidder's (2013) ethnographic study with traceurs in Chicago, it can be argued that the consequence of spatialised performances of daring and risk-taking masculinity (recognizable in both capoeira and parkour) is the (re)production of public spaces as masculinized spaces. However, the lack of female participation in the practice observed in public spaces might also reflect a more general perception of the 'in-between' public spaces observed (i.e. peripheral public parks, street corners, walking footpaths, abandoned buildings) as dangerous sites, unsuitable or not "proper" for young women to occupy according to hegemonic conventions about femininity in the context of research. Calderon-Carreño (2013) has underlined how hegemonic gender divisions amongst South and Central American communities locate public spaces as the "natural" socialization space for men, while identifying the home as the "natural" space for women. Azzarito's (2012) research with youth from ethnic minorities and low socio-economic classes seemed to confirm this perspective, especially for young women with a migrant background, and these insights could be extended to Turin's social context. While acknowledging the contributions provided by these studies, I nevertheless assume that limiting gender dynamics observed in the field as culturally determined phenomena may run the risk of reproducing culturalist and

essentialist understandings, and not allowing for consideration of spatial gender relationships enacted in our urban landscapes (see also Coleman, 2005). Such readings cannot tell us about young women who try to renegotiate their position within their community of origin and the society they live in, as some studies have suggested (Palmer 2009), and the reactions they meet when trying to negotiate unwritten spatial normativities. On this issue, Madriz (1997a; 1997b) and Sweet and Escalante (2015) addressed the difficulties and harassment that women face daily when attending, or just crossing, urban public spaces. These studies highlighted how fear of violence and harassment produces certain ideas about what women “should” or “should not” do in public to protect themselves, enabling debilitating ideas about what constitutes “good girls” versus “bad girls” and severely constraining the range of everyday practices available to women. These studies had therefore the merit to highlight how the dynamics of spatial reclusion, and concerns about safety, violence and harassment can influence women's public behaviours and attendance in public spaces across ethnic, class, and religious backgrounds.

The point of views and literature described here provide hints about the complex and dynamic enactment of spatialised and gendered power relations in the research context. Though a focus on gender relations is outside of the scope of this study, this element indicates the pivotal role of everyday, and physical practices, in reproducing, legitimising or challenging, gender and sexual norms and differences within the field of research (Silk and Andrews 2011) that I intend to address in future studies. Acknowledging the ambivalent and nuanced characteristics of capoeira and parkour practices in contemporary transnational cultural flows represents a unique vantage point to observe the meanings and stakes of children of immigrants practices in Turin's public spaces. Therefore this study posits capoeira and parkour as unique points of observation, and experience, to observe and understand construction of hybridized identities, commodification of youth expression, and public performances of inclusion and re-appropriation of contested

public spaces amongst children of immigrants in Turin.

The previous sections aimed to provide initial background information to inform the research on the multiple personal and social stakes implied in (post)migrant youth enactment of capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces. Building on this introduction, the following chapter sketches the theoretical framework informing the research and addresses the relationship between spatiality, bodily practices, and identity negotiations amongst groups of children of migration in Turin.

2. MIGRATION, IDENTITY, AND THE BODY

Identity has been widely considered as a fundamental concept to explore and understand immigrant and diasporic communities (Hall, 1990; Sayad, 2002; Palmas, 2009, 2010; Zoletto 2011; Beaman 2014), as well as contemporary globalized and multicultural societies (Gilroy, 1987, 1993; Hall, 1992a; Bhabha 1994; Appadurai, 1996; Sen 2006; Glick Schiller 2012). These contributions make the concept of identity clear as a matter of relevant political¹⁷ significance (Hall, 1996a) for individuals and groups who are represented (to various degrees and through various processes) as “others” in their social environments (e.g., children of migration in Turin). However, the focus that many contributions in diaspora studies had on specific and “imaginary coherent” (Hall, 1990, p. 224) communities does not fit completely the aim of this research. Rather, this study explores the lived experiences, practices, negotiations and constitution of personal identity paths

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I refer here to the term “political” as both the institutional actions, laws and dispositive operated by the State and its organs, as well as the daily negotiations of relations of power enacted by subjects in their social environments.

by (post)migrant youth from various ethnic, national, religious backgrounds, who engage in capoeira and parkour practices in public spaces without a common history, route (Gilroy, 1993) or homeland. A powerful element that brings together the lived experiences of youth from disparate backgrounds is thus the “total social fact” of immigration (Sayad 2002). In Mauss' (1990 [1925]) conception, a “total social fact” involves and implicates all aspects of social life, and takes a fundamental part in building social, cultural, economic, political, and intimate relations. Total social facts are constitutive elements, motors and generators of actors' social worlds; they constitute and penetrate every aspect of actors' social relations (Saada 2000). In Mauss' work, an example of total social fact was the gift, as an element that built and constituted social relationships and bonds of mutual recognition and assistance amongst various tribes in archaic societies. Drawing on Mauss' conceptualization, Sayad (2002) pointed out that immigration represents a total social fact in immigrants' lives. I show in the discussion chapters that every aspect (social, cultural, economic, political, psychological) of migrants' lives is irreversibly affected by their (legal, social, psychological, political) condition as “immigrants”. As Sayad (2002, 2008) argued, immigrants' existential “exile” deeply influenced the ambivalent affective and economic relationships with the country of origin, the social positioning in the host society, the creation and rupture of new and old bonds of social trust and membership, the individual's own private world and psychology. Furthermore, immigration conditions the lives, as well as the sense of self and the social positioning even of those who did not experience it directly, such as some (post)migrant youth. Drawing on these considerations, I assume that exploring the “total social fact” of immigration in relation to identity construction amongst the children of migration (Sayad, 2002), can prove meaningful to address the objectives of this project.

Over the last thirty years, social science literature has engaged in meaningful critical reflections about the concept of identity. Some authors proposed a redefinition (Hall 1990, 1992a, 1996a), while others offered alternative terms to

overcome ambiguity and reifying connotations of the concept (Butler 1990, 1993, 1997; Bauman, 2001; Brubaker and Cooper 2000). In his milestone essay “Who Needs Identity?” (1996a) Stuart Hall underlined the political significance, and fundamental role of identity research to think and address “certain key questions” in social sciences (Hall 1996a, p. 6). Although Hall did not specifically identify such “key questions” (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, p. 9), he did propose a redefinition of the concept to dismantle an essentialist readings of identity as a “stable core of the self, unfolding form beginning to end through all the vicissitudes of history without change” (Hall, 1996a, p. 17). Hall's argument¹⁸ pointed out that identities should be understood as produced within specific historical and institutional sites and discourses. In other words, that the constitution of a social identity is not just a matter of innate essence or individual will, but rather is “an act of power” (Hall 1996a, p. 8). Acknowledging that social identities are created, negotiated and reproduced within nets of power relations, Hall proposed a redefinition of the concept of identity as intersections, articulations, continuous negotiations of subject positions within social and power relationships. He thus proposed a redefinition of the concept as a construction always in process (Hall 1996a, p. 6), a notion of identity echoed by Bauman's (2004) idea of a *puzzle* of which we ignore the final image, as it can change accordingly with the ways we combine its pieces (p. 55). This study aims to contribute to these perspectives on identity, by highlighting how emergent modes of identification are imbued in power relations, and actively lived and re-worked through body and space. Drawing on Butler (1993), parkour and capoeira's emplaced movements can be seen as critical components of the ongoing political formulation and (re)constitution of the participants' selves (p. 125). Embodied and emplaced performances have the potential to re-signify or unsettle normativities (Butler, 1997). To address to what extent the embodied and emplaced engagement with capoeira and parkour enabled, and constrained, the participants' identity negotiations, it is necessary to consider how the “total social fact” of migration was

¹⁸ Constructed drawing on Foucault, Fanon, Brah, Butler, Bhabha, Laclau, Mc Nay, Lacan, amongst others.

inscribed and negotiated on and through the participants' bodies and everyday environments.

2.1 OTHER(S') IDENTITIES

We can consider the process of identity construction as a process of negotiation, and interiorisation, of power relationship which regards all of us as subjects. However, the process of identity construction assumes particular meanings and consequences when relating to subjects who are positioned as “Others” by dominant regimes of representation in different historical periods: the colonized during colonization, and currently, immigrants and their children in our societies. In 1952 Frantz Fanon¹⁹ described how the colonial power had become a constitutive element in colonized identifications, not only through violence and domination, but also through desire. The desire of “white” goods, manners, skin, had the power to make the colonized perceive themselves as “Others” in relation to the “civilized” colonizers, thus creating a site of a profound, painful splitting and alienation amongst the colonized (See also Hall, 1996b, p. 448). Less than fifty years later, Abdelmalek Sayad interdisciplinary approach towards the sociology of migration, combining anthropology, sociology and history, underlined the relationship between colonization and immigration. Sayad highlighted that both colonization and immigration are part of social systems which tightly articulate economic organization, the imposition of cultural norms, and relations of domination (Saada 2000, p. 32). In his work Sayad described the miserable relationships that children of Algerian immigrants in France had with their bodies: disgraceful, ugly, “suspect” bodies which betrayed them in their desire to be “as everyone else”, by reminding them everyday their “otherness” in French society (Sayad 2002, p. 345-346). Sayad's analysis addressed the processes through which dominant regimes of representation defined immigrants social identities in France.

¹⁹ In “Black Skin, White Masks”.

Influenced also by the work of social theorists as Bourdieu, he sharply highlighted how these social categories were inscribed in the immigrant body. “The immigrant owns only his/her body” argued Sayad (2002, p. 345), and exists in the host society just because of his body/workforce. Everything in the immigrant's body, the name, the hair, the signs inscribed on it, remind to him/her and to those looking at him/her who (s)he is: the “Other”, an alien body, or a temporary guest worker at its best. According to Sayad, the children of migration suffer even more, because they occupy a more critical position than their parents in the symbolic (power) relationship with the State (2002, p. 339). Immigrants' children represent immigration's *inopportune posterity* (Sayad 2008), and powerfully reveal the deep contradictions and inequalities hidden in “integration” policies and dispositives regulating citizenship. Contrary to their parents, children of immigrants often do not have a “home” to dream about, to long, to miss, to return to. The children of migration can apparently only accept and internalize being considered “Third World workers in a First World country” (Calavita, 2005) as their parents, or react to their social designation. According to Sayad, what happens next is a “law of social physics” (2002, p. 339) as some (post)migrants react against the social designations depicting them as “others”, by transforming such designations in an ensign of pride (i.e. “I am Moroccan, and proud to be”). In this way, continues Sayad, they create a social group based on such social designation, thus confirming the social and economic elements of stigma (p. 339).

The above mentioned research was fundamental in underlining the disruptive effects of social inequalities and regimes of representations in the lives of immigrants families and children, but it did not provide accounts on children of immigrants' daily negotiations of established social prerogatives and identities. Authors like Hall (1996a) and McNay (1994), De Certeau (1984) underlined how the power of dominant regimes of designation to position and produce subjects within their social realms, has not to be intended as a monolithic force which saturates all power relations and defines all social interactions. Cracks and fissures

within dominant regimes of representations can be found, and agents can use these to negotiate their own social positioning within the social and power relations. Rare but meaningful literature mentioned in the previous chapter (Schneider 2005; Palmas 2006, 2009, 2010; Jimenez-Sedano 2012; Ngo 2008; Palmer 2009) suggested also that, despite profound social inequalities and painful cleavages, the children of migration can be to a certain extent successful in mobilizing various resources, including transnational popular culture, to build positive processes of identification and belonging even in marginalizing and excluding environments. Palmas' works (2009, 2010) on South American youth street organizations in Milan and Genoa, Italy, examined youth as social actors who are actively engaged in shaping their present and future lives through inventive means including aesthetics, bodily practices, language, and the use of public spaces. Schneider's case study (2005) examined how a young Tamil boy living with a foster family in Switzerland developed a personal path of masculine identification through creative "textual poaching" of transnational popular cultures elements like non-Western movie characters. Jimenez-Sedano (2012) highlighted how young migrants in Spain used their ethnicity situationally when they needed to access resources, or to empower their position in particular social interactions (i.e. to mobilize peers against teachers' authority) by calling upon a shared sense of ethnic belonging.

While applauding Palmas and Jimenez-Sedano approaches in looking at immigrant youth practices and negotiations of social designations in Italy and Spain, I argue that their works may have understated some critical aspects. Even though he acknowledged Sayad's reflections on the painful internalizations of social designations by children of immigrants, Palmas (2006, 2009, 2010) reproduced a problematic dualistic representation of migrant youth by depicting them as either "victims" of social stigma and inequalities, or idealizing them as hyper-agentive social actors. On the other hand, Jimenez-Sedano (2012) represented only the subjective play and negotiations of ethnic belonging amongst Gipsy and Moroccan youth in Southern Spain, while, while being less explicit about how "being Gipsy

or Moroccan” is represented in dominant discourses in Southern Spain and affected the daily lives of participants.

Schneider's (2005) work represented a insightful case study which highlighted the role of popular culture as a meaningful identification reference for (migrant) youth. However, Schneider's work mainly addressed masculinity as a textual construction, and not also as an embodied process. Aiming to contribute to the reflections startled by such studies, this project illuminates how children of immigrants' negotiations of social identifications and positioning are enacted through the same sites through which they are usually objectified and marginalized in Italian society: their bodies and the urban spaces they daily live and cross. Attempting to engage in a debate with the aforementioned contributions, and to frame an approach to examine children of immigrants' continuous negotiations of social positioning and (internalized) power relations, I draw again upon Hall's reflections in his essay “Cultural Identity and Diaspora” (1990). Hall remarked that what he calls identity is a process of becoming (rather than a condition of being), and a process where difference persists alongside continuity, especially for those who have migrated (Hall 1990, p. 227). Hall defines this “doubleness of similarity and difference” (1990, p. 227) as a “play of difference” and it is exactly the way the author uses the verb “to play” that is important for me to frame participants' embodied and emplaced practices of self-fashioning:

“I use the word 'play' because the double meaning of the metaphor is important. It suggests, on the one hand, the instability, the permanent unsettlement, the lack of any final resolution ... This cultural play' could not therefore be represented, cinematically, as a simple, binary opposition - 'past/present', 'them/us'. Its complexity exceeds this binary structure of representation. At different places, times, in relation to different questions, the boundaries are re-sited. They become, not only what they have, at times, certainly been - mutually excluding categories, but also what they sometimes are - differential points along a sliding scale.” (Hall 1990, p. 228)

Hall's “play of difference” seems to echo again De Certeau's (1998) description of

children of immigrants as pioneers²⁰ articulating and putting together diverse social worlds, and Bhabha's (1994) notion of an *in-between* as a space of change and negotiation that people can create amongst multiple, “often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices, and positions” (Hall, 1996a, p. 4). These contributions seem to reflect what children of immigrants do in their everyday lives and various social interactions, as they situationally play with different languages, roles, narratives, and navigate various social environments and positions, also through their bodies. Therefore, I suggest that the active body can represent a unique site for observing and understanding the “play of differences” that the children of migration enact. As addressed in the previous chapter, capoeira and parkour are two body practices in which the use of the body is characterized by doubleness, and a familiarity with continuity in difference. Capoeira and parkour, as other sporting activities and lifestyle sports (see Wheaton, 2010), can be used by participants as technologies²¹ for the purpose of fulfilling and performing desires reproducing dominant regimes of representations and moralities (i.e. a fit “muscular” body reproducing dominant ideas of masculinity, or even racial masculinity) (see also Markula and Pringle, 2006). At the same time however, children of migration can also use the practices to enact personal desires of socialization, amusement and recognition, all of which do not necessarily rely only on the re-appropriation of stigma. In this ways they can apparently escape Sayad's naturalistic “laws of social physics”, as they play and combine elements and practices from transnational popular culture as well as other social and symbolic worlds.

I assume that the body can be studied, and lived, not only as a site where dominant norms and regimes of representations are inscribed on subjects. This study

²⁰ De Certeau (1998) acknowledged that through the continuous effort of articulating differences, children of immigrants were preceding “us”, the “natives”, because they were already confronting themselves with the cross-breeding and negotiations of references, while many in Europe still rely on the fictive construction of pure and unique (national) identities.

²¹ I use technologies here as intending the meaning Foucault gave to the greek word *technè* (meaning both art and technique) as a practical rationality governed by a conscious aim (see also Markula and Pringle, 2006, Fuggle 2008, and Owen 2014)

addresses in these pages a framework that highlights how the body represents the very place where regimes of representations and normative stances are negotiated, through an active, though partial, process of transformation and self-fashioning. The theoretical framework outlined here offers the necessary conceptual tools to highlight how *Others' identities*, as social positioning shaped through dominant regimes of representation and painfully internalized by children of immigrants, can become *other identities*, negotiated processes of self-fashioning and positioning in society which children of immigrants put in action by using the resources at their disposal: their bodies, the spaces they inhabit and transnational popular practices as, in this case, capoeira and parkour. This is possible because children of immigrants' re-interpretations and temporary bodily and spatial appropriations open up occasions to challenge immigrants' prerogatives in Italian society, and imply opportunities to discuss other possible spaces, social paths, and histories (Corsin-Jimenez, 2003). The result of this theoretical discussion thus enables me to elaborate and synthesize the issues addressed in this research in one major research question:

How do the embodied and emplaced practices of capoeira and parkour relate to the identity negotiations, and to the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion negotiated by young people of migrant origin between 16 and 21 in Turin?

This main research question is supported by another sub-question to illuminate the processes through which participants engage in capoeira and parkour practices as embodied ways of self-constitution:

Through what processes do the engagement with capoeira and parkour make possible the embodied constitution of personal identity paths amongst participants in the study?

In formulating the above research questions, I am nevertheless aware that the process of negotiation of *other identities* is not homogeneous and uniform for all the participants (and for youth of migrant origin in general in Turin). As Les Back

suggested with the concept of “hierarchies of belonging” (2012), historical, social, economic and political processes influence the regulation, scrutiny, surveillance, and marginalization of migrant communities through the lenses of fear and suspicion (p. 151). Back (2012) noted that social ordering are mobile and not static. In this study, the changing forms of Turin's social, and spatial, landscape highlighted in different historical periods what migrant communities (and sometimes phenotypes), were placed under heightened scrutiny in the city's social life. For example, in the 1990s in Italy there were major social concerns about massive waves of immigration from Eastern Europe (especially Albania and Romania) and North Africa (Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt) (see also Dal Lago, 1999). Today social alarms are related to the perceived “unbearable” presence of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, and Muslims in general. Therefore, I assume that in this historical moment research participants whose phenotype, ethnic origin, or religious practices do not present affinities with “traditional” physical, religious, and “moral”, characteristics of “Italianity” (I.e. Whiteness, Christianity, Heterosexuality) endure more difficulties and “checkpoints” (Back et al. 2012, p. 150; Balibar 2004 p. 109) while negotiating their sense of selves and belonging in Turin social landscapes, than their peers who present characteristics associated to higher ranks in Turin's social hierarchies. Observing how current hierarchies of belonging influence, and are influenced by, the contested identity negotiations enacted by respondents helps to clarify the meaning and stakes that capoeira, parkour and public spaces imply in relation to participants' struggles with racial scripts and processes of selective inclusion. As mentioned above, several observations during fieldwork suggested me that, especially, in public spaces (post)migrant women were on the lowest steps of the social ladder. Therefore, considering gender as well as ethnicity, religion, class, as axes through which social ordering processes are embodied and emplaced in contemporary societies provides meaningful insights for an analysis aiming to unpack and understand the complexity of the phenomena here considered. Drawing on these premises and on the work of Pink (2011) and Friedman and Van Ingen (2011), in the following sections I propose an analytical framework highlighting how the body impacts and

is impacted by the environment in which it exists and the social relations, and identities, evinced (p. 85). Following Pink (2011, p. 352), I assume that a focus on embodiment cannot sufficiently address the complex arrangements and "constellation of processes" (Massey, 2005, p. 141) characterizing participants' engagement in capoeira and parkour. In proposing an understanding of the emplaced, moving body in this study, I therefore consider the participants' practices as not simply embodied, but part of an environment which both shapes and is shaped by their actions (see Pink, 2011, p. 344). I assume that this perspective can meaningfully address and reveal both the contested spatial politics and negotiations taking place in Turin's cityscape, and innovative perspectives on subjects' ongoing process of self-constitution.

2.2 ADDRESSING THE EXTENDED BODY, POWER AND IDENTITY

Several contributions have addressed the body as a crucial and contested site from where it is possible to tackle, analyse and argue against the operations of power, knowledge and surveillance (Foucault, 1976, 1980, 1990; Scheper Hughes and Lock, 1987; Giardina and Newman, 2011b; Silk and Andrews, 2011). However, talking about the body represents a complex and arduous challenge for the difficulties it takes to address the (active) body without making it the "theme of discursive or poststructuralist longing" (Giardina and Newman 2011a, p. 524; on the same subject also Evans et al., 2009, and Newman, 2013) and the necessary effort to represent embodied research activity with words. Various researchers in social sciences, and specifically in sociology of sport and physical cultural studies, have developed theoretical and methodological studies aiming to understand how active and sporting bodies in diverse social spaces reproduce and negotiate dominant regimes of representation and social identifications, as well as established social relationships and inequalities (Friedman and Van Ingen 2011; Hamera 2006; Hargreaves and Vertinsky 2006; Bale and Philo 1997; Barbour 2004, 2011; Cole

2000; Fusco 2006; Borden 2001; Vivoni 2009; Andrews and Silk 2011; Spaaij 2009a; Zonello 2010, 2011; Palmer 2009; Thorpe 2010; Wacquant 2004, Stapleton and Terrio 2009; Giardina and Newman 2011a, 2011b, 2014; Francombe et al., 2014; Markula, 2014; Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2015). The wide range of perspectives addressing the (active) body in these extensive scholarship proved useful when exploring the multiple and diverse standpoints from where for observing and analysing the participants' practices in this study. These theoretical standpoints ranged from Bourdeusian analysis of sporting practices (Thorpe, 2010; Delamont 2006, Delamont and Stephens, 2008, 2010), to a “carnal” (Wacquant, 2004), or embodied (Barbour, 2011) analysis of the moving body, and a Deleuzian and feminist analysis of embodied flows in roller derby (Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2015).

In a departure from the the above cited perspectives, Latour's (2004) description of the “training of noses” through the use of “odour kits” in the perfume industry also provided an insightful way to theorize about the body in this study:

The odour kit is made of series of sharply distinct pure fragrances arranged in such a way that one can go from sharpest to smallest contrasts. To register those contrasts one needs to be trained through a week-long session. Starting with a dumb nose unable to differentiate much more than ‘sweet’ and ‘fetid’ odours, one ends up rather quickly becoming a ‘nose’ that is, someone able to discriminate more and more subtle differences and being able to tell them apart from one another, even when they are masked by or mixed with others. It is not by accident that the person is called ‘a nose’ as if, through practice, she had acquired an organ that defined her ability to detect chemical and other differences. Through the training session, she learned to have a nose which allowed her to inhabit a (richly differentiated odoriferous) world. Thus body parts are progressively acquired at the same time that ‘world counter-parts’ are being registered in a new way. Acquiring a body is thus a progressive enterprise that produces at once a sensory medium and a sensitive world [...] Before the session, odours rained on them without making them act, without making them speak, without rendering them attentive, without arousing them in precise ways: any group of odours would have produced the same general undifferentiated effect or affect on the pupil. After the session, it is not in vain that odours are different, and every atomic interpolation generates differences in the pupil who is slowly becoming a ‘nose’, that

is someone for which odours in the world are not producing contrasts without in some ways affecting her. The teacher, the kit and the session is what allows differences in the odours to make the trainees do something different every time —instead of eliciting always the same crude behaviour. The kit (with all its associated elements) is part and parcel of what it is to have a body, that is to benefit from a richer odoriferous world. (Latour, 2004, pp. 2-3)

Latour's discussion of noses' training is useful for my analysis in many ways, since it addresses several issues this research aims to tackle. These issues can be roughly identified as the role of (body) training, time, space, and the use of a “kit”, in the acquisition of a body (part) able to perceive, interpret, know or relate to the world in unexperienced ways. The combination of these elements in Latour's description enables the prospective “noses” to pass from a condition in which “odours rained on them without making them act, speak and take their attention” (p.3), to the acquisition, or re-appropriation of a part of their bodies that can make them react situationally to a variety of odoriferous elements. This description is actually similar to some of the accounts collected during my previous research on youth, parkour and capoeira, during which participants provided vivid images of the embodied changes they experienced after they engaged in both practices (De Martini Ugolotti, 2015).

Latour's “body talk” is meaningful for this discussion not just because of the insightful image of the “training of noses”, but also because it provides a useful perspective and vocabulary that relate to this study's aim to highlight the body as a contested site of social reproduction, negotiation and re-appropriation. One of the words in Latour's vocabulary that particularly raised my interest was the term he chose to define the differences that actors experience when they learn to appropriate their bodies:

One way I have found to talk about those layers of differences is to use the word articulation. Before the week long session, the pupils were inarticulate. Not only in the sense of a conscious and literary sophistication, of their ability to speak about the odours; but they were

also inarticulate in a deeper and more important sense: different odours elicited the same behaviour. Whatever happened to the world, only the same obstinately boring subject manifested itself. An inarticulate subject is someone who whatever the other says or acts always feels, acts and says the same thing [...] In contrast, an articulate subject is someone that learns to be affected by the others —not by itself. (Latour, 2004, p. 5).

Latour's discussion is relevant for this study²², since it enables me to discuss and theorize participants' bodily experiences in relation to the role that their body takes in their identity negotiations without falling “into the trough of ordinary ‘body talks’, broken into physiology and phenomenology” (Latour, 2004, p. 9), or becoming the subject of unfleshed post-structuralist longings (Newman and Giardina, 2011b). Drawing on Latour's perspective, Markula (2014) recently addressed fitness as a site from where to rethink the ontological relation between the social and biological constituencies of the moving body (p. 489). These perspectives echo those of authors who addressed the reciprocal constitution of the moving body and spaces (Saville, 2008; Pink, 2011), and addressed the body as an *interface* between subject and object (Hetherington, 2003, p. 1938, in Saville, 2008, p. 897). As addressed in Chapter 1, capoeira and parkour can represent meaningful, diverse sites to unpack the ongoing relationship, and reciprocal constitution of bodies and spaces. Capoeira's corporeal dialogue highlights the embodied and relational elements inherent in the simultaneous (re)definition of space and self (see Fuggle, 2008). Parkour practice underlines traceurs' self-constituting relationship with the forms, surfaces, flows of people and objects that compose urban space (Saville, 2008). Drawing on Saville's analysis on parkour (2008), capoeira and the “art of displacement” can thus represent for practitioners a search for new and more

²² Latour's perspective on knowledge construction and “social critique” challenged the approach of disciplines like critical sociology by implying that an emancipatory and engaged commitment to the analysis of social and cultural practices aiming to “make a difference” (like this study) may reduce and simplify the objects it examines (Latour, 2005). Acknowledging such potential tension with the aims and premises of this study, I do not aim however to solve it in a neat, self-containing theoretical model. Rather, in this study I start to outline the possibilities that a Latour's inspired perspective can provide to a empirically and theoretically significant analysis of the reciprocal constitution of body, space, power, and the self through the unique lens of capoeira and parkour. A systematic exploration of these possibilities will be the subject of further research drawing on this study's findings.

elaborate imaginings of the self and their life-environments, and an opening out of possible, but not necessarily attainable, mobilities, spaces, and identities (p. 892). Coming back to Latour's analysis, the focus on what the body *does* by engaging with different “kits”, and the surfaces and flows composing urban spaces, enables me to address how the participants' possibly learnt to be “affected” through capoeira and parkour. With this term the French sociologist meant how actors learn to be *effected*, “to be moved into action” (Latour, 2004, p. 4) by the materiality and relationality of their daily social world. In Latour's conceptualisation the process of “learning to be affected” is not located in the subject of the body, or in the object of the world, but in the interactions between them (that also create them).

Paraphrasing Latour (2004), the “kits” of capoeira and parkour (with all their associated elements, such as the spaces where the disciplines were practiced, and the relational aspects of both practices) can thus be studied as becoming “part and parcel of what it is to have a body” (pp. 2-3) for participants. Addressing how participants' ongoing engagement with capoeira and parkour “kits” produced their bodies, but also their worlds (Latour, 2004, p. 3), can highlight the multiple dimensions and layers of participants' negotiations of self and place through both disciplines. The participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour can thus highlight the role of the body and space as *interfaces* through which it is possible to address not only subjects' intimate engagement and self-construction with the materiality of the world. In addition to Latour's conceptualisation, I assume this perspective can also address the power relations that enable and constrain the use of the “kits” through which we engage in our process of self-constitution. This perspective enables to bring power into the discussion of participants' embodied and emplaced identity negotiations, and to surpass a Cartesian rationality implying a mind that controls and gives ontological existence to the body through thought (Barbour, 2004, 2011; Latour, 2004). By extending the analysis of the emplaced, moving body, *and* the embodied space, this work furthers the knowledge of the mutual constitution of body and space, and self, through capoeira and parkour.

I assume that having a discussion remaining at the level of the body limits my analytical contribution to the enactment of a (carnal) “sociology out of time” (Giardina and Newman, 2011b, p. 185) which does not address the wider conditions influencing the enactment, possibilities and constraints, of the observed practices. The aforementioned theoretical framework allows me to highlight two significant aspects in this research. First, I highlight how the engagement with the bodily “kits” of capoeira and parkour can provide participants with the ability to articulate their bodies and movements with, and through, the everyday environments of their lives. Second, the framework enables me to research and analyse the actors' bodies modifications and articulations, and the “kits” that steer these articulations. Therefore, a complex understanding of the participants' identity negotiations through capoeira and parkour requires addressing the set of structural, discursive, historical, and spatial conditions within which participants experience, interiorise and consume both capoeira and parkour. This analysis also requires addressing how these conditions enable and constrain the participants' practices, trajectories and negotiations. The next section will therefore address a body of literature combining the analysis of active bodies and physical cultures with a critical spatial analysis enabling to address how power relations and inequalities are played out and located in urban spaces.

2.2.1 Articulating Bodies, Spaces, Power, and Surveillance

By drawing on a series of studies combining the analysis of the (moving) body with spatial analysis (Bale and Philo 1997; Friedman and Van Ingen 2011; Pink, 2011; Borden 2001; Fusco 2006, 2007, 2012; Vivoni 2009; Zoletto 2010, 2012; Spaaij, 2009; Silk 2010; Silk and Andrews, 2010; Caudwell, 2011), this study aims to unpack and highlight the relationship between (active) bodies, spaces and the reproduction and the localisation of broader power relations, inequalities and social identifications.

Research conducted in the United States (Silk 2007, 2010; Silk and Andrews 2008, 2012) and Europe (Spaaij 2009a, 2009b; Agergaard et al., 2015) for example, has pointed out the relationship between sport institutions, urban redevelopment programs initiatives, the neoliberal policy repertoire of contemporary cities, and the (re)invention and policing of racialized (male) bodies. The insights offered by these studies proved to be meaningful in this research project, since they highlighted the exclusionary and differentiating elements of dominant discourses on sport as a benign resource for social development and inclusion (Silk 2010; Spaaij 2009a, 2009b; Agergaard et al. 2015). Furthermore, these studies have addressed the relationship between the creation of commodified sporting and leisure spaces and the production of commodified sporting, or pathologised, bodies (Silk 2010). In this study, I engage the bodily practices of children of immigrants in public spaces as an opportunity to observe the relationship between body, space and power in contexts that are not the regulating arenas of dominant sport forms, but rather the undefined in-between urban public spaces where popular and transnational bodily practices are enacted by various social groups and individuals. Borden (2001) and Vivoni (2009) used an approach to spatial analysis specifically addressing the social production of space by various actors', and the resulting tensions in their examination of the contested practice of skateboarding in public spaces. Both authors used Lefebvre's (1991) spatial analysis to highlight how skateboarding in urban public spaces (i.e. sidewalks, malls entrances, below bridges, in empty swimming pools) created spaces of creativity and desire that upset and/or reproduced the meanings and uses attached to public space by urban planning policies and dominant social groups. Interestingly, Lefebvre's theoretical discussion gives the body (and especially what the body can do in everyday practice) a central place in the production of space (Lefebvre 1991, p. 50), thus providing me an opportunity to encompass the bodily and spatial negotiations enacted by children of immigrants through capoeira and parkour practices in public spaces, as I will address in the next sections.

The analysis of the nexus between body, space, and power also needs to recognize and consider the entanglement of power and surveillance of specific, targeted bodies in contemporary cities. Bigo's concept of ban-opticon (2006) unpacks the constellation of multiple surveillance policies, practices and knowledges enacted for the “management of unease” (Bigo, 2006) in contemporary, late-capitalist societies, and the relevance of acknowledging these processes for this study. The idea of a ban-opticon (Bigo, 2006) recognizes the reconfiguration of a diffused social, and spatial, *dispositif* of control that changed its field of operation from the “surveillance of everyone” (as suggested by Foucault's panopticon [1976]), to the surveillance of a small number of people, usually “unwelcome” minorities (Bigo, 2006, p. 35; see also Manley and Silk, 2014). Following Bigo (2006), the ban-opticon *dispositif* enables and justifies the enactment of an “exceptionalism of power” within advanced liberal regimes, exemplified by the increasing use of rules of emergency, and their tendency to become permanent (as in case of Turin's “Safe Street” operation mentioned in Chapter 1). The ban-opticon *dispositif* is not enacted exclusively by security or police forces, but is spread throughout society and encourages people to collaborate, drawing on widespread imaginaries of a majority population threatened by a seamless continuum of crime, drug use, terrorism and migrants' invasion, often embodied in the figure of the immigrant (Bigo, 2006, p. 23). Therefore, as Bigo argued “The profile of the guilty changes: it no longer derives from a supposed criminality, but from a supposed 'undesirability'” (2006, p. 21). A skin colour, an accent, an attitude are sufficient to become the object of pro-active actions of surveillance targeting groups that would be “predisposed to criminality”, or terrorist radicalisation. The concept of ban-opticon is therefore very useful to unpack how the participants' (post)migrant bodies and practices are made objects of both desire and surveillance in Turin's regenerating public spaces. The focus on the daily enactment of capoeira and parkour by the participants in Turin's public spaces, will enable me to contribute to a literature on surveillance in contemporary cities that has mainly focused on security agencies/police forces (Palidda, 2000), urban policies (Sim and Coleman, 2000; Coleman, 2005), and sporting mega events (Manley and Silk, 2014).

Through the lens of the emplaced moving body and embodied space, this study will therefore consider an under-addressed perspective in this literature, by looking at how, through their engagement with capoeira and parkour, youth born to migrants live, negotiate, take up and displace the surveillance dispositives and spatial power relations constraining, enabling, and controlling, their movements and trajectories in Turin's cityscape.

2.3 HENRI LEFEBVRE'S SPATIAL TRIAD

Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) defined space as both a product and producer of social activity, thus he stated that the production of space needs to be understood as an important element in the process of forming, and transforming, relations of power (Lefebvre 1991, p. 11). Lefebvre's spatial triad provides the means to recognize and unpack how relations of power are emplaced in our urban landscapes and everyday lives, and possibly to act on them. Lefebvre's framework focuses upon the built environment (perceived space or spatial practice), the meanings, uses and understanding of space by urban planners and dominant social groups (representation of space or conceived space), and the ways in which dominant meanings uses and understandings of space are challenged, reinforced and changed through practice, by all those who have not the power to create and demarcate their own spaces (spaces of representation or lived space) (Lefebvre 1991, p. 39). Spatial practices help to define and separate spaces, to make them accessible or forbidden as well as to organize the flows of people in and through space (Lefebvre 1991). Representations of space allow us to identify how spaces are constructed through discourse, representing also the physical translation of the articulation of knowledge and power by elite groups (Lefebvre 1991, p. 37). However, the uses and meanings of representation of space are not necessarily determinative, as people live, express themselves in and use spaces differently from the intentions of urban planning policies, and in so doing transform the meaning and use of space (Lefebvre 1991; Friedman and Van Ingen 2011; Borden 2001). Actors' negotiations of perceived spaces and lived space can be multiple and range from minor “micro disruptions” (Fusco 2006) to practices that openly challenge the rules governing perceived spaces, which implies the rise of tension and contestations about the proper uses and users of space (Mitchell 1995; Borden 2001). As Mitchell has exemplified (1995, 2003), social groups excluded by dominant representations of spaces (i.e. homeless, ambulant vendors, migrants, the “disruptive” youth) see their

legitimacy as members of the public being questioned and thus are routinely banished to a realm outside politics. Thus, the negotiations, but conflicts and tensions created by contrasting meanings and uses attached to space reflect the power relations and inequalities enacted in specific contexts. Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) and Mitchell (1995, 2003) have pointed out that the contestation and tensions created by the contrasting uses and meanings attached to spaces by various actors provides opportunities for citizens and marginal social groups to claim their “right to the city”. Lefebvre's concept of the “right to the city” appears then as a political agenda to stimulate a radical restructuring of urban space with various forms of social, political and economic relations creatively re-negotiated by people²³ (Soja 1996; Fawaz 2009; Elden 2004; Fenster 2005). However such political agenda has been partially reworked by some authors drawing on Lefebvre's framework. Borden (2001) for example, has stressed that although concerned with possibilities for social change, he could not consider the contested transformations of space he observed as implying changes in material conditions by skateboarders, since they rather implied changes in the *experience* of material conditions (p. 2). I consider this reading of Lefebvre theories as valuable for my study, since it allows to appreciate the ambivalence and fragility of actors' daily practices and tactical transformations. As Borden (2001) and Vivoni (2009) showed, practices of temporary spatial appropriation like skateboarding (but we could consider also parkour and capoeira) cannot be simplified as acts of political resistance aiming to trigger social change, or as reproduction of commodified cultural practices, because generally the actors' motivation cannot be simply ascribed to these categories since they may include aspects of both. Drawing from such considerations, the intention in this research is not to point out the political and social meanings and opportunities for social change provided by the public enactment of capoeira and parkour practices *per se*. My aim is rather to address the political and social meanings and values capoeira and parkour assume when groups

²³ By assuming the right to the city as an occasion of radical social restructuring in an emancipatory direction, Lefebvre operated a meaningful shift for Marxist thinking, by substituting everyday life for the workplace as the primary locus of exploitation, domination, and struggle. (Soja 1996, p. 41).

of children of immigrants in Turin decide to engage in such practices in public spaces. Soja's expansion of Lefebvre's work represents another compelling integration of the theoretical framework used in this study, and in the next section I will address in details how his work contributes to the analysis of the body/space/identity nexus developed in this study.

2.3.1 Beyond Lefebvre's Spatial Triad: Introducing Thirdspace

Edward Soja's concept of Thirdspace (1996) represents a reinterpretation and extension of Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad (1991 [1974]). Soja's work shook off from the spatial triad the more totalizing Marxist perspectives of Lefebvre thought, heavily focused on social relations of production and implicitly implying a conscious political agenda in actors' re-appropriations of lived spaces. With the concept of Thirdspace the American author acknowledged and related to Lefebvre's contribution addressing updated understanding of power, body, space, and the everyday. Drawing from Lefebvre work and on his spatial triad, Soja offered a similar “trialectic of spatiality” (1996) which included a definition of Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace. The similarities in the first two elements of the triad are evident in Lefebvre and Soja. Firstspace represents the physical, and measurable, spatial materiality corresponding to perceived space in Lefebvre. Secondspace corresponds to Lefebvre's representation of space, as an abstract, idealized vision of space created by urban planners and dominant groups which often spatially materialize the knowledge/power nexus. It is with the notion that Thirdspace that Soja extends the implications of Lefebvre's lived space (space of representation), as the space transformed in its use and meanings by often marginal and anonymous users, and as a contested site where subjects and groups can claim their “right to the city” (Lefebvre, 1991). Using as a metaphor of the multiple implications of Thirdspace the image of the Aleph described by Argentinian author Luis Borges (1971), Soja extended the nuances, meanings and articulations of

Lefebvre's concept of lived space addressing its potential affinities with contributions and musings of authors like Bhabha, Foucault, and bell hooks, amongst the others. Soja's nuanced and open-ended framing of Thirdspace, which favoured *articulations* rather than a self-containing theoretical model, represent an appealing concept through which an understanding of participants' embodied and emplaced negotiations in Turin public spaces could be achieved. Thirdspace's open and non-exclusive theoretical ramifications represent a meaningful lens through which is possible to unpack and illuminate participants' multifaceted negotiations. As argued in the first chapter, these negotiations can not be understood through a lens focusing only on relations of production, or cultural dynamics. Rather an understanding of participants' negotiations requires a multifaceted prism providing simultaneous reflections regarding race and post-colonial history, relation of productions and emerging forms of capital formation, as well as cultural politics, citizenship, emerging forms of subjectivity and identification. The image of the Aleph, "the place where all places are" (Soja, 1996, p. 54) and, an all-reflecting sphere where "the sum of total universe can be found" (Borges, 1971, p. 189), can represent the multiple and contradictory stakes, visions and meanings of the spatial negotiations enacted through participants' public engagement with capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces. Furthermore, the concept of Thirdspace through its connection with Bhabha's (1990, 1994) concepts of third space and hybridity and further theoretical contributions, enable me to address and highlight how the relationship between the body, space and identity emerged in participants' narratives and daily practices. Homi Bhabha's (1994) explanation of third space, understood third space as a place of invention and transformational encounters, as a dynamic in-between space that is imbued with the traces, relays, ambivalence, ambiguities and contradictions, to fashion something different, unexpected.

Therefore, I use Thirdspace to critically engage with the creation and discussion of frameworks addressing the body/space/identity nexus. This concept offers a perspective that enables to illuminate how the re-interpreted and transformed

marginal in-between spaces observed in this study became places of enunciation, where hybrid identifications were forged and marginalised voices could express themselves (see bell hooks, 1990, p. 152). A Thirdspace perspective can represent the transformation of marginal in-between spaces in places of enunciation, without implying or requiring a conscious and explicit political agenda linking participants' resistances²⁴ (Foucault, 1990; Soja, 1996, p. 93), as also considered by Borden (2001) and Vivoni (2009). Rather, this perspective enables the researcher to address the relationship between body and space in participants' negotiations of daily, and historically constituted, power relations, and the identification and social positioning such power relations contributed to create.

The insights provided by these perspectives inform the next sections and chapter discussions. In particular, bell hooks' re-interpretation of the margins as sites of openness, creativity and power (1990, p. 152) corresponds to participants' attempts to make their bodies, and in-between urban spaces, contested tools of self-constitution and self-development, despite the manifold expressions of inequality and surveillance shaping such spaces and influencing their lives. At the same time, by using this conceptual lens for participants' practices and negotiations, this study aims to offer meaningful insights that highlight forms of everyday-multiculturalism, citizenship and (subaltern) cosmopolitanism that are significantly different from those celebrated by state-sponsored multicultural policies and initiatives (Schmoll and Semi, 2013, p. 378).

²⁴ Acknowledging the indissoluble bond between resistance and power, Foucault (1990) opposed the idea of a single great transformation which might precede and guide others, placed outside power relations and aiming to liberate humans' "true" selves. He rather suggested, at least at the beginning of his work (Thompson, 2003) the enactment of a multiplicity of resistances, as limited emancipatory practices which assert difference, destabilizing established power relations and discourses.

2.3.2 Thirdspace, Hybridity, Superdiversity and the Body/Space Nexus: an Updated Review

Some authors (Mercer, 2000a, 2000b; Alexander, 2002; Parker and Song, 2009) have argued that “invoking hybridity, Third Space, and the negotiation of difference no longer does justice to contemporary relationships between culture, identity and politics” (Parker and Song, 2009, p. 585). The main issues raised by these critiques concerned the harsher climate surrounding the new ethnicities/hybridity framework. This is exemplified by the actual recrudescence of clash-of-civilizations discourses depicting an irreconcilable distance between supposed “Islamic” and “Western” values, which counter the positive implications of cultural transformation and the opening up of “in-between spaces” (p. 585). Furthermore, these authors have highlighted how “the subversive potential once invested in notions of hybridity” (Mercer, 2000b, p.235) has been subject to a process of commodification that took place through the erasure of its implicit politics, the increasing discomfort with the material realities of structural inequality and disadvantage, and the valorization of the margin as “radical chic” (Alexander 2002, p. 585). According to these contributions, the danger of these understandings of the concepts of hybridity, or Thirdspace, is to make them rigid and exclusionary, to re-interpret them as an essentialist opposite to the newly denigrated “cultural purity” (Mercer, 2000b, p. 240), and therefore to make them a *property* rather than a *relation* (Alexander 2002, p. 586). Furthermore, such critical analysis calls for an empirically grounded examination of what identity negotiation means; what exactly is being negotiated, by whom, and under what set of conditions (Parker and Song, 2009, p. 585).

The recent introduction of the concept of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007, 2012, 2013) aimed to tackle the above mentioned concerns and the limitations and backlash of a static and reified state-sponsored multiculturalism, by focusing on

relations rather than *entities* (Berg and Sigona, 2013; Fog Olwig, 2013). This concept relates to this study's understanding of actors' embodiment (and all the classed, racial, gendered categories attached) as intersubjective and relational, rather than as an entity. The super-diversity concept acknowledges “the increased number of scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified” (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1024) immigrants in contemporary societies. This concept tackles immigration as a complex phenomena and not just in terms of cultural difference. By addressing class-based, gender, legal status, consumption practices and life-style differences, this concept explores diversity *between* and *within* cultural or ethnic groups (Berg and Sigona, 2013). However, critical questions interrogated super-diversity, specifically on its capacity to address what older concepts did not do analytically, politically and discursively (Berg and Sigona, 2013, p. 350). Similar interrogatives regarded the methodological challenges of how to conceive, investigate and represent diversity in its various dimensions and expressions (p. 350). While a diversity lens enables the exploration of complex and cumulative interactions among multiple factors of making of social inequalities (i.e. age, gender, race, class, legal status) there is a latent risk of an individualised representation of social inequality (Berg and Sigona, 2013). Also, by questioning the ontology of ethnic categories, super-diversity can eclipse experiences which are deeply rooted in ethnic, religious, cultural or transnational bonds (Fouron and Glick Schiller, 2002) and contribute to determine immigrants' status as political subjects. Therefore, a dominant super-diversity discourse risks creating an “equivalence of differences” (Vertovec, 2012, p. 289) which threatens to flatten the very diversity it ostensibly acknowledges. This use of diversity resonates also with a neoliberal discourse that undermines social ties and shifts social and welfare responsibilities away from the state and to the individual (Berg and Sigona, 2013, p. 353). To conclude, Knowles' (2012) study of African diaspora communities in London added further insight to the present consideration of super-diversity. Referring to the super-diversity framework as not imbricated in urban spaces, and acknowledging the role that places take in shaping (migrants') lives, Knowles calls for a “vocabulary through

which the spatial is made available” (2012, p. 627) in its multiplicity as a crucial element influencing the variegated relations between immigrants and the city.

I consider the critical observations on Thirdspace/hybridity and on super-diversity as fundamental for orienting and informing the perspective adopted by this study. Building on these premises, I aim to develop an empirically grounded analysis that offers more than reifying and static accounts of cultural hybridity, or individualised representations of social inequalities that do not consider the social, historical, cultural, political and affective elements enabling and constraining participants' negotiations. A perspective that understands hybridity as a relation and process, and highlights the complex, entangled and cumulative factors characterizing power differentials within participants' social groups is what this study aims to develop in order to contextualise and discuss participants' practices and negotiations in contemporary Turin. Furthermore, responding to Knowles' (2013) call, I assume that a spatial perspective, and one that addresses the body in mutual constitution with space, provides meaningful elements to explore the multiple and complex (re)production and negotiation of social identities in contemporary cities. The critical reinterpretation of the works of Lefebvre, Soja and Borden, amongst others, enables this study to illuminate and explain participants' practices and identity negotiations, as well as their ambivalent, nuanced, unexpected meanings, stakes and consequences. I assume that the spatial analysis proposed in this study elaborates on David Harvey's quote explaining Lefebvre's idea of “right to the city” as “The right to change ourselves by changing the city” (Harvey 2008, p. 23). In this study, respondents engaging in capoeira and parkour practices in Turin public spaces claimed the right to change the city (or at least its subjective experience) while changing themselves. I suggest that the spatial transformations that (post)migrant youth enacted through capoeira and parkour practices did not reflect an agenda of political resistance and societal transformation, but rather a less conscious and more immediate need of self-constitution, membership and recognition, that was satisfied daily, despite excluding social forces and

objectifying dynamics. A spatial analysis of the participants' bodily practices can provide an understanding of the political stakes and tensions implied in children of immigrants' redefinition of public spaces, and themselves. However, to address the multifaceted aspects and stakes implied in participants' practices and answer the questions this study poses, the framework just addressed needs to be integrated with a conceptual lens to grasp the ambivalent elements of participants' practices and attempts at self-constitution. This lens is the concept of social navigation.

2.4 SOCIAL NAVIGATION CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

I theoretically engage with the concept of social navigation proposed by Vigh (2006, 2009, 2010) and Lindegaard (2009) to understand the experiences, practices and trajectories of the children of migration practicing capoeira and parkour in Turin public spaces. Social navigation explains how people move in uncertain circumstances, and focuses on how agents act in difficult situations, move under the influence of multiple forces and seek to escape confining structures, while plotting to move towards better positions (Vigh 2009, p. 419).

The concept of social navigation was firstly developed by Vigh (2006) who was inspired by Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) and De Certeau's (1984) attention to actors' tactical engagements in social spaces (Lindegaard 2009, p. 57). Social navigation successfully incorporates Bourdieu's theorization of actors' embodied incorporation of their social location (Bottero 2010, p. 4), but improves upon it, by acknowledging subject's capacities for reflection, without claiming that reflexivity is necessarily a conscious and calculated occupation (Lindegaard 2009, p. 60). This elaboration of Bourdieu's theory of practice appears to dialogue with other contributions that have proposed a hybridized version of Bourdieu's theories (Adams 2006; Bottero 2010) in the last few years. Several studies have argued that Bourdieu's theory did not address various key aspects of subjectivity (Bottero 2010,

p. 10) by creating an exaggerated fit between habitus and field, and the lacking to consider ambivalence and practical mimicry in the formation of the subject (Butler 1990, p. 118). Others have noted Bourdieu's neglect of actors' ability to develop reflective and critical accounts which should make initiation of transformative processes possible. Critics like Adams (2006) and Bottero (2010) have proposed a hybridized use of Bourdieu's theories and stressed the role of intersubjectivity in affecting actors' social locations, identifications and practices.

Similar to what Adams (2006) and Bottero (2010) have proposed, social navigation stresses the role of intersubjectivity in shaping and orienting agents' movements and practices, by focusing on how social categories are not something actors *are*, but rather *become through interaction*. According to the concept of social navigation, whether an agent embodies a social category or not, depends on how the actor navigates social spaces, and on whom and where the interaction takes place (Lindegaard 2009, p. 57). Furthermore, beyond offering a hybrid conceptualization of an actors' embodied construction of social identification, a social navigation conceptual lens improves Bourdieu's concept of the field as a static and fix social structure, and offer a perspective on the continuous, unfolding and ever-changing movements that characterize contemporary social environments (Vigh 2010). Similar to Vigh (2010), authors like McNay (1999) and Sweetman (2003) have argued that actors' reflexive awareness of their social position is becoming endemic in contemporary settings where movements between fields have increased, boundaries between them have become blurred and fields themselves are subject to “rapid and ongoing changes” (Sweetman 2003, p. 541; Vigh 2010, p. 152).

Acknowledging these premises, engaging with social navigation concept allows for an understanding of the experiences and practices of the children of migration. Various contributions in social sciences (Palmas 2009, 2010; Bourgois 2002) have stressed indeed how (post)migrant youth are aware of moving within alien,

threatening, and excluding urban environments. These contributions highlighted how youth born to migrants are also aware that their social position can change suddenly and drastically according to the places they find themselves in, or due to further structural elements affecting their lives (i.e. laws and policies governing and regulating immigration).

Social navigations' focus on social fields as continuously unfolding and changing allows the researcher to appreciate how the children of immigrants navigate "capricious environments" (Scott 1998, p. 331), and to reconfigure the power of habitus in generating social identifications. Social navigation offers an optimal conceptual lens to examine the complex coexistence of habitual dispositions and emerging bodily articulations in (post)migrant youth practices, and provides a meaningful tool to understand the generation of contemporary identities in relation to an increasingly differentiated, and unequal, social structure. Finally, by incorporating these reflections with De Certeau's notion of *tactics* (1984), social navigation offers a theoretically solid account of actors' negotiations of power relations, by acknowledging also how these negotiations are bound in space and time. Thus social navigation recognizes and implies that actors' tactical moves do not offer unique and straight-forward indications of social transformations and change. Social navigation's value in representing social action includes how actors actualize their trajectories towards imagined and desired horizons, as the flow and direction of social forces change, and as their tentative routes suddenly hinder or make accessible (un)imagined possibilities. Social navigation is particularly useful when exploring the children of immigrants' practices in this research, since it provides an alternative perspective on the intersection between practice, agency, and social forces. This concept enables me to focus on how the children of migration move and position themselves within dangerous, slippery terrains and unpredictable changes. It allows for an exploration of the ways in which actors engage with their social environments using the resources at their disposition. Furthermore the concept enables to follow actors' tentative trajectories to direct

their lives in the most beneficial and advantageous ways, while assessing changes within their social environment and evaluating emerging possibilities within these terrains. Given this more nuanced focus social navigation has the capacity to address the complexities of young people's experiences and practices, and simultaneously dispel polarized portrayals of the children of migration as a(t) risk youth.

Although implying a bodily dimension in its concept, social navigation has not been often used to engage and focus on the situated bodily interactions and practices that actors perform in various social settings²⁵. Lindegaard's (2009) valuable contribution to social navigation was a deeper focus on the body that was missing in previous studies. The author's work on young men negotiating violence and marginalization in South African townships allowed a view on how, the body appearance, posture, accessories are ways of performing gender, social positioning, status in young people's lives. However, Lindegaard also showed how the meanings and the messages portrayed by bodily practices change according to the social arenas where they are displayed. Young people are well aware of these codes and use them in various social spaces while engaging in a broad range of interactions. Looking to the youngsters practices through a lens of social navigation allows me to gain an understanding of how youth born to immigrants use their bodies to *relationally and situationally negotiate their social positioning through* various social spaces. The concept of social navigation concept represents a very useful lens examine how children of immigrants use capoeira and parkour as practices “imbued with the flexibility and preadaptation necessary for unpredictable change” (Bateson 1972 *i n* Vigh 2009: 425) to address the unpredictability of their everyday lives. Under the lens of social navigation, capoeira and parkour can be observed as the means that participants use while they try to get a grip on unequal power relations and recurrent turnarounds in their

²⁵ Although Vigh (2010) uses the image of *dubriagem* (shadowboxing in Guinean *creole*) as an analytical metaphor to explain social navigation, the body as such is not explicitly explored as a tool of social navigation in his theorisation.

everyday lives and, at the same time, strive for viable life chances, socialization, leisure opportunities, and as social recognition. It is by combining the insights of social navigation and spatial analysis that I aim to gain valuable, deep and insightful elements to understand what is at stake in children of immigrants' engagement with capoeira and parkour in Turin public spaces.

2.5 OPENING A DIALOGUE

Having outlined earlier how various theoretical frameworks can be useful to address and answer this study's objectives and questions, this section summarizes how key elements of the mentioned theoretical perspectives can resonate to provide a useful analytical grid for understanding the complex, multiple stakes and negotiations implied in (post)migrant youth practices of capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces. Lefebvre's, and Soja's, spatial triads and social navigation have various points to dialogue on. First, Lefebvre's and Soja's conceptualisation of lived space as created through temporary spatial appropriation by users, and relating to “clandestine or underground side of social life” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33), echoes the concept of tactics developed by De Certeau (1984), which informs social navigation.

By stating “The space of tactics is the space of the other” (1984, p. xix) De Certeau seems to explicitly call into question actors' transformations of spaces created and governed by urban planning policies and dominant groups of society. Using an example cited in De Certeau (1984, p. 102) the practice of writing graffiti can be considered as both a tactic in De Certeau's framing, but also an act creating representational space, a temporary spatial appropriation, in Lefebvre's conceptualisation.

The difference between De Certeau's, and Lefebvre's ideas of tactical negotiations of power relations though, is that De Certeau's tactics are minuscule and invisible, relating with actor's subjective experience of space. The actor's negotiation of power relations in De Certeau's framing is not the graffiti, but rather the trace of a tactic, the act of writing all from an author who has already escaped (1984, p. 102). On the other hand, Lefebvre's tactical spatial negotiations represent opportunities to change the space and also, possibly social, economic and political relations. Here the negotiation of power relations is represented exactly by the *graffiti*, which transforms the built environment and the perceived space in an opportunity to make a voice heard, though minimally and temporarily. Soja's conceptualization of Thirdspace combines such readings of actors' spatial transformations, by locating them in the opportunities that the marginal, invisible, clandestine spatial practices offer for the negotiations of actors' social positioning (Soja, 1996). Nevertheless, we can assume that in all the aforementioned conceptualisations, (spatial) tactics allow people to have greater control over their lives, even if it is just in their subjective experience of material conditions and social location (see also Borden, 2001). The body is central to this perspective, and from the aforementioned discussion we can understand also the role it takes in developing unexpected articulations, as well as asserting specific social identifications and positioning in social spaces.

The last element which Lefebvre, Soja and social navigation all address is *time*. In Lefebvre's work it is clear and explicitly argued that the regulation and organization of spaces aims to also govern the rhythm of life of the city and its citizens (1991). The French author's unfinished *rhythmanalysis* explicitly tackled this relationship. Representation of space implies freezing time in a perpetual repetition of productive, mediated and “proper” rhythms:

“With the advent of modernity time has vanished from social space. It is recorded solely on measuring-instruments, on clocks, that are isolated and functionally specialized as this time itself. Lived time loses its form and its social interest -- with the exception, that is, of time

spent working [...] The primacy of the economic and above all of the political implies the supremacy of space over time.” (Lefebvre 1991, p. 95).

According to this argument, it is possible to deduce that the representation of spaces not only manages, organizes and crystallizes the subjects' life rhythms in a perpetual repetition, but also determines and organizes the subjects' social positions, identifications and horizons. De Certeau writes “strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper, and thus serve as basis for generating relations [...] the proper is a victory of space over time” (1984, p. xix), and implies the use of power to transform “the uncertainties of histories into readable spaces” (De Certeau 1984, p. 36). In opposition to these mediated and ordered spatial projects (or strategies), according to Lefebvre, social actors' unrequested, tactical, and contested, negotiations of the uses and meanings of space disrupt the organization of time. Tactical re- appropriation is instead characterized by a victory of time over space, and takes advantage of temporary opportunities, while also depending on them (de Certeau 1984, p. xix). In a similar way, Soja explicitly refers to Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis in regard to the tight relationship that ties body, space, and time in the social production, and negotiation, of the “everyday” through practice and movement (1996, pp. 51-52).

Drawing mainly on these thoughts this study aims to show how, and to what extent, actors' negotiations and navigation of social positioning and identifications through capoeira and parkour characterize a disruption of the crystallization of social identities constituted along an axis of time, space and the body. In conclusion, this study will show how subjects tactically navigate the “uncertainties of history” by using capoeira and parkour to read space as a map unfolding in their hands, while attempting to fulfil their needs of socialization, self-constitution and movement towards desired horizons. This analysis will provide a valuable perspective on the participants' practices at the intersection between agency, social forces and change (Vigh 2009, p. 420) by representing both the continuously adjusting, ambivalent

and never fixed positions that children of immigrants negotiate in Italian society, and the inherently political consequences that their spontaneous negotiations of self, place and belonging imply.

2.6 CODA

The study presented here creates and unfolds a multi-vocal story, narrated through the voices of the interlocutors who participated in this research. The purpose of this story is to illuminate and explain how groups of young men of immigrant origin negotiate desired identifications and sculpt their subjectivities through daily practices such as capoeira and parkour. In addition the study results will show how these negotiations shape and are shaped by the contextual condition participants live in, and plot to move from. The discussion in the various chapters will present contradictory and conflicting elements, but my aim in articulating the participants everyday practices within the context where they are enacted and the broader socio-historical processes and power relations does not allow for a coherent, encompassing and self-explanatory account. Rather, as capoeira and parkour suggest and imply in their practice (as each discipline takes advantage of the cracks, fissures, caves and passages of social spaces and interactions), I aim to highlight and underline the contradictions, incoherences, ambivalences implied in participants' practices and daily tactical negotiations. The organization of this study reflects this effort and draws on Johnson's (2004) contribution on the practice of cultural studies as necessarily a multi-vocal and multilayered analysis that does justice to the complexity and richness of the phenomena studied (p. 227). This study assumes and bases its arguments on the contradictory elements constituting social life, as well as our social identifications. The results illuminate and explain the possibilities and constraints implied in participants' use of capoeira and parkour to negotiate boundaries, moralities, identifications, as well as the socially immediate and the socially imagined in their lives (Vigh 2009, p. 423). Capoeira,

parkour and the public spaces therefore become sites upon which to discuss, and from there to comprehend, the children of migration's attempts to define who they are, and where they want to go to next (Hall and Back 2009, p. 662).

3. METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapters, I have suggested that the complex, fluid, ongoing “play of difference” characterizing actors' identity construction is structured through the interrelation of bodily and spatial performances, dominant discourses and personal narratives. As Lindegaard argued, social actors situationally and relationally *do* gender, ethnicity and class (Lindegaard, 2009, p. 59), using their bodies and the social spaces they cross. However, I also assume that actors strive to inhabit a sense of self that is to a degree stable and meaningful, and which strives to enable the subject to respond to the fundamental questions: “Who am I?”, and “What is my place in here?” (De Martini Ugolotti, 2015). As such, through continuous interactions and negotiations of immediate and distant power relations, actors' identifications are not only performed through bodily and spatial practices, but also constituted through narratives counted to participants by others (including discourses enacted by media and policies), to others by participants, and to participants by themselves (Sfard and Pusak, 2005). Therefore, acknowledging the situational and relational aspects of participants' bodily and spatial performance and narratives, I assume that focusing on such performances, discourses, and narratives enables me to gain insights about participants' negotiations of self, place and belonging in their daily lives.

The following sections will therefore address how such theoretical premises will inform the choice of a set of qualitative methods to understand and appreciate participants' bodily experiences and negotiations, as well as the values and meanings attached to capoeira and parkour. The use of qualitative methodologies will allow me to analyse how (post)migrant youth negotiate personal and collective goals through their engagement in capoeira and parkour, and how their practices align or transform shared cultural resources (Atkinson and Delamont, 2005). The

use of a series of qualitative methods will allow to understand how (children of immigrants') bodies matter (Markula and Silk, 2011, p. 8) in social interactions within the context of early 21st century Turin. This in turn, will enable me to illuminate how physical and spatial practices relate in shaping, and being shaped by, actors subjectivities, social identifications and positioning. While addressing the set of methods enabling to illuminate the bodily and spatial components of identity construction, I will also consider the ethical, analytical and representational implications which the use of such methodological approach implies. Rather than assuming an intuitive connection between theory and data (Brown 2014) this chapter highlights the deep relationships existing between the choice of theoretical framework informing the study and the methods used in collecting the data. However, it is fundamental to address the ontological, epistemological and axiological premises which inform the theoretical and methodological choices of this project. Such premises will be subsequently ascribed to the inter- and multidisciplinary *project* of Cultural Studies, and specifically, of Physical Cultural Studies (PCS).

3.1 ONTOLOGICAL, EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND AXIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this paragraph, I address Guba's and Lincoln's (1994) invitation to make clear the ontological and epistemological perspectives, or the paradigm(s), informing and guiding this research (p. 116). I assume that making clear my ontological and epistemological perspective is crucial not only in relation to the choice of methods used (or to assert the relative utility of qualitative versus quantitative methodology). Rather, I aim to make the *Weltanschauung* (worldview) that guides this investigation explicit, since this worldview orients the methodological choices and contingencies of this study, and the insights it provides. In making my paradigmatic orientations explicit, I also do not aim to elevate one paradigm over

another, as I acknowledge the limitations, and the impossibility of every paradigm, as a human construction itself (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 108) to provide a complete account of social phenomena. My aim is to make my ethical position regarding what is there to be known about reality (ontology), and how can we know about what can be known (epistemology), explicit and knowable, together with the aims of this study. I approached this study through a Critical Theory perspective, since I address the socio-economic, political and technological context I explored as constituted, and reified, through history and not as an immutable reality. This means not leaving unnamed the historical, socio-economic and political processes that constituted the research context (Kincheloe and McLaren 2002; Kincheloe, 2005), to allow for an exploration of the complex relationships that shape, and are shaped by, the participants' negotiations. My ontological perspective of reality and research context shaped the means through which I aim to produce knowledge regarding the phenomena I study. As briefly mentioned above and in the previous chapter, I assume that my position as researcher is linked to that of participants, as both actors influencing and being influenced by the context, moralities and perspectives we move and live in. I assume that my values as a researcher shaped the inquiry process, and the findings of this research will be mediated by the ontological, epistemological and axiological perspective taken in this research. Nevertheless, I consider the knowledge that will be produced in this project as one co-constructed through a dialogical interaction between the subjects of inquiry and me (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.110). I assume it can be possible for me, and those involved in the inquiry process, to illuminate and contextualize the social processes we are part of at various levels, and to address and reflect on how these processes might be unpacked and changed (p. 110). This ontological, epistemological and axiological positioning pushed me to be self-reflexive about my role as researcher, as I address in the following sections of this chapter. With this study, I intend to provide findings that not only contribute to the academic knowledge on the subjects studied, but also benefit and engage also those involved in the research process. Therefore, I consider that the perspective adopted in this study implies the *explanation*, *critique*, and, the possible *transformation* of

historically determined structures of social and power relationships in the context of the research. I am not embarrassed to acknowledge the political nature of this work and unafraid to engage in this project with an emancipatory consciousness (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2002, p 106; Kincheloe, 2005, p. 339). However, I want to make clear that in regard to the transformation of social structures and power relations in this research context I assume that judgement about the needed transformations has to be reserved to those concretely affected by them: the research participants (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 113). Therefore, I see myself only as a facilitator of processes of critical reflection that are in part co-constructed with participants. I do not put myself in the position of determining what is best or desirable for the subjects involved in the research. To conclude, my chosen paradigmatic position influenced my standpoint towards research ethics. I intend for this project to be guided by both *extrinsic* and *intrinsic* ethical approaches towards the research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 115). I consider the extrinsic elements of research ethics to be all those established by professional codes of conduct and by the system of laws and values addressing research participants (i.e. making ethnographic and visual research with young people including minors). However, I assume that this research is guided also by intrinsic research ethics as well, since those above mentioned ethical considerations aim to illuminate inequality and promote performative pedagogic encounters (Giroux, 2001a, 2001b) between the research participants and me, as well as provide multi-voiced, crystallized (Richardson, 1994, 2000) analyses of the practices and negotiations studied in context of research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 115). A detailed consideration of the ethical aspects of this research will be provided in the final sections of this chapter. In the following sections I relate and position the paradigmatic perspective here addressed within the aims and features of the interdisciplinary *project* of Cultural Studies and PCS.

3.2 SITUATING AN ENGAGED, POLITICAL AND ETHICAL PROJECT WITHIN A PHYSICAL CULTURAL STUDIES' SENSIBILITY

As several contributions have underlined, Cultural Studies can be described as a “critical and deconstructive project” (Hall, 1996a, p. 150) and a perpetual “unity-in-difference” (Hall, 1992a) characterized by multiple theoretical influences, research methods, and sites of analysis. However, notwithstanding its inter- and multidisciplinary, self-reflective, political and theoretical orientations, Grossberg (1997) defined “radical contextualism” as the definitional core of the cultural studies project. Grossberg's “radical contextualism” presupposes a theory- method connection that enables researchers to illuminate the *articulation(s)* between the constraining influence of the social structure and the creative impulses of human agents. Such *articulations* allow the researcher to understand how the processes and dynamics of cultural practices, in this case capoeira and parkour, are produced or re-actualized and appropriated in and from specific cultural and historical contexts, while at the same time being engaged in the constitution of the conditions from which they emerge (Andrews and Giardina 2008). This project aims thus to contribute to PCS, as a critical analysis that recognizes sport and other active physical practices as important social and cultural phenomena. In particular, I follow the contributions of Andrews (2008; 2011) and Silk (2011), whose works opened the scope of the fields of sociology of sports and cultural studies to include a wider range of physical cultural forms rather than specifically sports (Silk and Andrews, 2011, p. 6), with a commitment to understanding those “cultural practices in which the physical body—the way it moves, is represented, has meanings assigned to it, and is imbued with power—is central” (Smishek, 2004). The significant growth of contributions “traveling under the banner of PCS” (Adams et al., 2016) has brought to the fore different perspectives about the type of intellectual work that PCS should encompass. This has been even called for by Silk and Andrews (2011), when they envisaged PCS as field of *healthy contestation*

(Silk and Andrews, 2011, p. 27), between diverse projects aiming to provide contextual analysis, to illuminate the effects of power, and to be politically committed towards progressive social change. However, recent contributions have rather expressed concerns about “the territorializing effects of some strains of PCS discourse” (Adams et al., 2016, p. 76). Most of these critiques criticised the lack of actual political engagement and public intellectualism among PCS scholars, the appropriation of feminist cultural studies themes without proper acknowledgment by some PCS scholars, and an emerging process of “disciplinary boundary making” by some PCS authors (Adams et al., 2016). Though not agreeing with some of these critiques²⁶, I do recognise the value of a healthy contestation of PCS in a perspective of *productive conflict* (Adams et al., 2016), and in requiring that I explicitly address my own vision and approach regarding PCS. As such, I do not address PCS as an emergent “boundary making project” (Adams et al., 2016, p. 83). Rather I engage with the PCS project as a critical *sensibility* that, through a focus on the body and physical culture enables the development of multi- and interdisciplinary perspectives on the historical, political and socio-economic processes that (re)produce privilege and injustice in our everyday lives. In this sense, I see a PCS' sensibility as an intellectually multi-positioned endeavour, advancing a critical practice that engages with multiple, intersecting academic, and political literacies, and that does not shy from intellectual/conceptual tensions to highlight innovative, and alternative understandings of current social conditions. Following this critical sensibility, I engage in this study with diverse conceptual lenses that are perceived in diverse academic setting as conflicting, such as identity and subjectivity, to explore the experiences of male (post-migrant) bodies as they are constituted by *place, race/ethnicity, and class*. By addressing both the concepts of identity and subjectivity in this study, I unpack the entanglement of body, space, power and self from different “angles of approach” (Richardson, 1994, p. 522) in the context of research. As such, a PCS sensibility enables me to discuss the

²⁶ Most of the PCS authors I refer to in my work are politically engaged in practices of public intellectualism in and out the university (Silk et al., 2015; Silk and Mayo, in press), are explicit in regard to the need of crossing borders between and beyond academic disciplines (Francombe et al., 2014), and explicitly ascribe their work in a feminist perspective (Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2012, 2013, 2014; Olive in press).

"external", intersecting categories and identifications acted upon, and negotiated by participants in Turin's urban spaces (i.e. as immigrants, aliens, contingent citizens, capoeiras and traceurs). Furthermore, a PCS sensibility enables also to unpack the more profound, embodied and emplaced elements through which the fundamental exercise of power influences individuals' own interpretation of their selves, of truth, and of moral obligations (Foucault, 1984). I therefore engage with PCS as a project that enables me not just to consider and address potentially conflicting concepts, but to "put them to work", in order to provide an articulated analysis of participants' practices and negotiations through capoeira and parkour in Turin.

Inspired and informed by the rigour, and eclecticism of a PCS multi- and interdisciplinary sensibility, I therefore aim to unpack from diverse perspectives the role played by capoeira and parkour in reproducing, and sometimes challenging, particular class, ethnic, gender, ability, generational, national, racial, and/or sexual norms and differences (see Andrews, 2008, p. 54). Furthermore, I deeply identify this engaged research endeavour with PCS' motivation to produce the type of knowledge that is able to intervene in the broader social world and *make a difference* (Silk and Andrews 2011). Therefore, this study is interested in the development and strategic dissemination of potentially empowering forms of knowledge and understanding, and seeks to illuminate and intervene into sites of physical cultural injustice and inequity—in this case the bodies of children of immigrants. This approach translates into a commitment to engage with the participants and the communities they live in in an ongoing moral dialogue (Kemmis & McTaggart 2005, p. 568). In this perspective, I address critical research into, on, and with the physical as a possibility to engage with individuals and communities' daily experiences and struggles and equipping people to come to mutually held conclusions. This approach to research engages with a situated and shared morality in which social science is reformulated as a moral and social space that is measured against a universal respect for dignity (Denzin, 2005). As such, I see the purpose of PCS as a theoretical and methodological sensibility, as

constructing a radical democratic practice that is equally theoretical, pedagogical, ethical and political. This involves engaging with creative and participatory research practices (i.e. as the video co-created with participants in this study) that can contribute to the enhancement of moral agency, and represent a commitment to praxis, change, justice, and a performative pedagogy²⁷ that resists oppression (Denzin 2003; Giroux, 2001a, 2001b; Humphries, 2000; Lincoln and Denzin, 2005; Kamberelis and Dimtriadis 2005; Finley 2005). These assertions require to make connections—or articulate—between the physical and the social totality, and are suggestive of scholarship that engages in social critique and moral dialogue within specific physical cultural contexts (Denzin, 2005; see also Denzin and Giardina, 2006; Truman et. al., 2000). Within this particular study, the intention—located within this interdisciplinary critical intellectual sensibility—is to unpack the complex interplay of historical, social, political and economic elements which shape, constitute and are contested and reinforced in children of immigrants' daily lives and practices in early 21st century Turin. Given the above-mentioned premises, the body, in interaction with other bodies and spaces during the enactment of capoeira and parkour, is the chosen theoretical and methodological perspective from which to engage with this analysis.

3.3 BODILY AND SPATIAL ARTICULATIONS AND THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

Following the above mentioned perspective, the body- both of researcher and researched- becomes “a locus of politics and praxis” (Giardina and Newman 2011a, p. 524) and a unique site to understand the “everyday struggles and flesh politics” (p. 523) of the young men of migrant origin I met in Turin. This study recognizes the embodied nature of power relations (Friedman and Van Ingen 2011, p. 86), and

²⁷ Drawing on Freire ([1970] 2001), and Denzin (2003) I define performative pedagogy as a practice enabling actors to “unveil the world of oppression and through praxis commit themselves to its transformation” (Freire [1970] 2001, p. 54 in Denzin 2003, p. 30).

is engaged with the purpose of analysing “the power relations that mark, are played out, and appropriated onto and by the everyday physical” (Silk and Andrews 2011, p. 16) amongst participants in the research context. This project is inspired and builds on the critical, anti-reductionist and interventionist intellectual sensibility proposed by Cultural Studies scholarship, but recognizes itself in a PCS project, which focuses on social bodies and physical cultures, situated at the intersection between *power*, *knowledge* and *identity* (Giardina and Newman 2011a, p. 524). A significant number of disciplines in social sciences have chosen the body as a topic of orientation or “theme of discursive or poststructuralist longing” (Giardina and Newman 2011a, p. 524). Several scholars (Andrews and Silk 2011; Carrington 2008; Friedman and Van Ingen 2011; Francombe, et al., 2014) assume that the research act of (physical) cultural studies is necessarily “an embodied activity” (Coffey 1999, p. 57, in Giardina and Newman 2011a, p. 524). As Francombe and colleagues have argued (2014) engaging with an embodied methodology implies realizing the presence of researcher's own physicality, as well as recognizing and reflecting on the complexities of our researcher bodies in time, space and place (p. 473). These contributions opened several methodological implications and suggestions that this study incorporated and that I discuss in the following paragraphs to contribute to a healthy field of tension, contestation and debate (Silk and Andrews 2011, p. 27), as in the scope of PCS project.

The understanding of research as an embodied activity might be combined with other contributions in social sciences that underline the importance of researchers' “sensuous commitment” (Stoller 1997; Downey 2005), or the engagement in a “carnal sociology” (Wacquant 2004) to understand actors' experiences, culture and learning processes, or social contexts. Though applauding the research challenges and perspectives the above mentioned authors have identified, I assume that the engagement of the researchers' body during research, the awareness that the relationship with participants is primarily and unavoidably a bodily one (Francombe 2011, p. 61; Francombe, et al., 2014, p. 477), implies going beyond a

phenomenological, sensuous and carnal approach to social and cultural processes. Acknowledging the role of researcher's body in the research process and in the relationship with the “researched” means to recognize the implicit, elusive, yet present political and moral messages our *researching bodies* convey during fieldwork *in our relationship* with research participants. This means engaging with what Michelle Fine defined as “working the hyphens” (1994), which is a self-reflexive commitment aiming to probe how the researcher is in relation to the research context and participants:

By working the hyphen I mean to suggest how researchers probe how we are in relation with the context we study and with our informants, understanding that we are all multiple in these relations [...] Working the hyphens means creating occasions for researchers and informants, to discuss what is, and what is not, 'happening between' the negotiated relations of whose story is being told, why, to whom, with what interpretation, and whose story is being shadowed by, whom, and with what consequence (Fine 1994, p. 72).

If the researcher is not aware and reflexive about such issues (s)he might not recognize how our interlocutors observe, study, perceive, interpret us, and our purposes and motivation to be with them (Rodman 1993, p. 189, in Giardina and Newman 2011a, p. 524). In failing to address such *embodied* aspects of the research encounter, the researcher could miss significant insights informing not only the analysis, but also the researcher's positioning as a politically and morally charged agent in a specific social context. The consequence of such lack of self-reflexivity during the embodied research encounter might result in what Fine (1992) termed *ventriloquy*, or the process of hiding a researcher's voice behind the participants voices while supposedly “giving them voice” to speak about their lives and experiences. Similar political, and power-laden issues have been addressed by several authors, mainly in anthropology (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Clifford, 1992; Crapanzano, 1980; Rosaldo 1993; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). However, since these authors have been mainly concerned about the *politics of representation* in ethnographic writing, their contributions have not focused explicitly on the *body*

politics of the ethnographic encounter. The embodied politics of the research process have not been addressed by many of the authors who engaged in a “sensuous scholarship” (Stoller 1997; Downey 2005; Wacquant 2004). Wacquant's sociology “not only *of* the body, but also *from* the body” (2004, p. viii; 2013; 2014) has been criticized for not addressing the cultural construction, and mythology, of the black male boxer, for not relating it to the socio historical context, for creating a (carnal) sociology that stays at the level of the body, a “sociology out of time” (Giardina and Newman, 2011b, p. 185). Other scholars criticised Wacquant's approach for dismissing sexism and gender relationships amongst the community of boxers he trained with, from his reflexive bodily accounts (Geurts 2005). Such remarks do not dismiss the contribution of phenomenological accounts to social sciences. Wacquant, Downey, and Stoller's focus on apprenticeship as a means to access the field, contributed to inspire and inform this project. However, I contend that committing to an engaged inquiry about social bodies and physical culture requires more than a sensuous and carnal commitment to the subject of study. I will develop these insights when addressing the embodied research methods I used in the research process. Finally, what PCS underlines most strongly is the importance of a continuous, rigorous work of self reflection about the embodied, elusive, politically and ethically charged dynamics of co-presence, communion, intimacy, and interaction of self/other/context in the field (Spry 2011, p. 507; Francombe et al., 2014, p. 477). Such methodological, and theoretical/epistemological, insights implied during the entire research process not just considering what my body, as the researcher's body *meant*, but also what it *did* in relation with other bodies during the ethnographic encounter (Francombe et al., 2014, p. 477).

PCS scholars like Giardina and Newman (2011a; 2011b), Francombe, Rich and De Pian (2014) challenged me to acknowledge and address the social identifications I enacted as a researcher, in various social interactions and contexts. The *consequence* of this challenge are self-reflexive efforts that I discuss in the following chapters. I do not aim to uniquely address a specific academic niche or

do I “simply” display a navel-gazing analytic and written sophistication (on the issue, see also Carrington 2008, p. 443). As Giardina and Newman (2011a) have reminded us, engaged (physical) cultural studies and interventionist aims push us as researchers to not just study movement and moving bodies, but to become implicated in and co-create the spaces of physical culture in which we move and represent (p. 530). In engaging with this research project I follow Giardina and Newman's (2011a) invitation to recognize that, once set in motion within the research process, my body became involved and articulated in the context I studied. Such a challenging methodological horizon confronted me with contradictions, complications, messiness and struggles during fieldwork. On the other hand this approach enabled me to reflect, recognize, and act on the very cultural physicalities, and body politics that I experienced. During fieldwork my aim to reflect on the consequences of my embodied participation in the practices I was studying also implied the opportunity to engage in *performative pedagogic* encounters (Giroux 2001a, 2001b, 2004a) with the research participants. In pursuing this aim, I used narrative forms of data collection (i.e. interviews and focus groups) and the idea of a participatory video-project on the participants' practices, which I address more extensively in the following paragraphs and discussion chapters. PCS scholars have underlined the interdisciplinary connections between pedagogy and PCS (Rich, 2011; Silk et al., 2015), and explored how these connections can contribute to the PCS project by informing how individuals learn about physical practices, expressions and corporeality through diverse, (in)formal sites, contexts and platforms (Rich, 2011, p. 65). This meaningful example of interdisciplinary PCS sensibility highlights the possibility to understand how (young) people variously *learn* about their bodies, and thus to contribute to critical interventions possibly producing “counter-hegemonic critiques or using popular culture to imagine new possibilities” (Rich, 2011, p. 66). Though agreeing on the possibilities enabled by an interdisciplinary connections between pedagogy and the PCS project, this analytical perspective could not be included in the scope of this study. This analytical perspective will represent a crucial elaboration of this study's discussion in future contributions. In this specific study the engagement in

performative pedagogic encounters descended mainly from my ethical and political positioning as a researcher in the field. I therefore engaged with research methods that enabled the collaboration with, and between, the participants (i.e. testimonial narratives, participatory video project) with the aim explore the possibility of self-reflexive experiences enabling everyone involved in the research process (including the researcher) to critically reflect about their bodies, and express counter-hegemonic perspectives via a range of creative means. In doing this, I aimed to highlight the “co-emergence” (Francombe et al., 2014 p. 479) of knowledge and meaning stemming from the relationship between my and participants' bodies, and to blur the boundaries between interviewee/interviewer, observer/observed, and author(s) (see also Linden, 1993; Richardson, 1994) in the research, and knowledge production process. In conclusion, I started to explore the possibilities of performative pedagogic encounters in this research as means to provide contexts, interactions, spaces for the participants to generate collective narratives, confront perspectives, and to recognize, and strengthen, their own (collective) voice.

Since I will discuss how I translated these epistemological and theoretical assumptions in research methods, I address here a final contribution, recently made by Friedman and Van Ingen (2011). Previous contributions have identified the empirical core of PCS in physical events or practices, and recognized the role actors' negotiated engagement with physical practices and cultures takes in contributing to the formation of individual subjectivities (Silk and Andrews 2011, p. 15). Acknowledging and drawing on these contributions, I nevertheless look at Friedman and Van Ingen (2011) to push the boundaries of PCS core empirical fields from the study of the physical, to the study of how physical *and* spatial practices relate in shaping, and being shaped by, actors subjectivities, social identifications and positioning. As the authors stress, since PCS examines a whole range of expressions of the physical, an understanding of these practices will be substantially enhanced by a spatial analysis, as the body impacts and is impacted

by the environment in which it exists and the social relations evinced (Friedman and Van Ingen 2011, p. 85). This approach is particularly meaningful, since I have assumed in the previous chapter that the spaces the participants chose to perform capoeira and parkour, and the use they made of the spaces, can provide me with insights about what is at stake for children of immigrants practices, and the “political unconscious” lurking beneath the surface of everyday life (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2002, p. 107). Addressing a body of literature already engaged in relating the understanding of the physical with spatial analyses, and underlining the explicative potential of the approach in addressing issues like gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity, Friedman and Van Ingen (2011) also propose Henri Lefebvre's spatial analysis as an enriching theoretical perspective for PCS. Again, as I have stated in the previous chapter, this project shares an understanding of Lefebvre's work with the two authors as enhancing the possibility for analysis and intervention which characterize the PCS project. However, as the authors invitation is recent and devoted to address Lefebvre's theoretical perspectives in relation to PCS, I assume that much has yet to be written how spatial perspectives methodologically translates in a PCS sensibility. This research aims to contribute to what I believe is a meaningful enrichment of PCS, by sketching in the following sections a set of ethnographic qualitative methods aiming to illuminate the spatial as well as bodily dimensions of children of immigrants negotiation of self, place and belonging, as well as the connections between their practices and the wider power social issues in their lives.

3.4 LINKING THEORY AND METHOD: IDENTITY AS A METHODOLOGICAL SENSIBILITY

In discussing and specifying the theoretical and methodological contingencies of a perspective that interrogates the relationship between the body, space and power in the constitution of subjects' identifications, I follow Brown's (2014) invitation to

clarify how my methodological choices will enable me to answer to research questions and relate to the theoretical framework. As discussed in the previous chapter this study acknowledges identity as a construction constantly in process (Hall, 1996a, p. 6), yet rather than treat it as a ‘research object’, I aim to explore how agents invest in discursively constructed subject positions (Brenner, 2006). That is, I am interested in how human beings temporarily adopt and attach themselves (Hall, 1996a) to subject positions that discursive practices construct for us, while concurrently *striving to create*, a coherent and self-credible sense of identity (Gee, 2001, p. 111). Following Hall (1996)a, this involves considering the negotiations by which youth of migrant origin construct subject positions within social and power relationships that are already characterized by domination and subordination. Drawing on Brown (2011, 2014), I therefore assume that identity is the *journey* by which this is achieved, as opposed to an *outcome* or *product* that is the result; it involves a constant (re-)negotiation and has a performative nature. In this sense, focusing on the bodily practices of capoeira and parkour will provide me with an illustrative exemplar of the performance of temporary attachments, hybridized identifications, embodied normativities and the negotiations of emerging forms of subjectivity. Through holding together theory and method, in this chapter I unpack what it means to think about identity as a *methodological sensibility*. I deploy this methodological sensibility to the practice of capoeira and parkour amongst children of immigrants, as a way of illustrating embodied, and emplaced attachments, normativities and negotiations. In this sense, the approach towards identity as a theory/method here provides an approach that can offer deep insights into how identity is contextually negotiated. The methodological sensibility discussed here can also aid scholars to illuminate, and intervene into, sites of physical cultural injustice and inequity, in this case the bodies of the children of migration.

To map the complex interplay between method and the subject positions that discursive practices construct, and to theoretically/methodologically unpack

identity, I engaged with Brown's (2014) model of identity construction. By focusing on *structural forces, performances, narratives and the dynamic arenas of space and time* as elements characterizing actor's identity construction, and negotiations, Brown's model enables me to consider the structural, spatial, bodily and intersubjective factors that characterize agents' identity negotiations. The methods used in this study, and discussed later in this chapter, address these overlapping factors. This project considers the interaction of discourses, personal narratives and performances as interconnected and acting simultaneously and fluidly in actors' lives, and on their bodies and daily environments. Similarly, the set of methods should not be considered as existing in "mutual isolation" (Atkinson and Delamont, 2005, p. 828) or confined to discrete phases of the research, but rather as methods intertwined through the research process to inform my understanding of identity construction. This methodological approach will enable me to tackle the interplay of agency and structural forces in the participants' daily lives, in an effort to make identity *tangible* (Brown 2014), and produce a contextual, crystallized (Richardson 1994), historical knowledge about children of immigrants daily struggles and identity negotiations in early 21st century Turin.

3.5 STRUCTURAL FORCES

Structural forces involved in identity construction refer to the socio-cultural regimes of representation and power, which historically operate to construct the macro level parameters for identity making. For (post)migrant youth these include the ethnic, national, religious and gender categories by which the individual is rendered recognizable to others (Butler, 1997, p. 2). However, social categories do not impress constructive powers upon identity in an additive sense, but rather through the interactions formed as a collective, for example, "white, middle-class, Italian girl", or "black, working-class, migrant, boy". Following Youdell (2006), these constellations of social categories operate upon the individual through

discourse, which the author defines as: “bodies of knowledge that are taken as ‘truth’ and through which we see the world” (p. 35). It has been argued that discourses operate as *regimes of truth* (Foucault, 1980, p.112) in which privileged and privileging perspectives become normalized into an acceptance that they are natural or self-evident²⁸. Youdell (2006) argues that prevailing discourses may lead to social inclusion or exclusion through their role in constructing social “truths”, for example in educational contexts:

“One result of these is that some constellations of identity markers- for instance feminine, middle class, White- come to be synonymous with the ‘ideal learner’ who is thereby set up for educational ‘success’ ... [while] other constellations of identity markers- for instance working class, masculine- come to foreclose the possibility of educational success, that is, the student is positioned as an ‘impossible learner’” (Youdell, 2006, p. 2)

Accordingly, it is the implication of identity constellations in organizing power hierarchies, and the recognition that certain configurations of social categories exist on a macro social level that impresses the constructive power of structural forces upon identity making. Youdell’s (2006) account can be addressed to explain the policy discourses by which migrant youth have come to be positioned in Italian society, and Turin, in which constellations of “migrant-young-male” have become normalized into versions of “impossible citizens” in the last decades, as described in the previous chapter.

Another structuring determinant upon migrant youth identities are the policy regimes that influence what Gee (2001) refers to as I (institutional) identities. This involves an understanding of policies, which in and of themselves may be a product of dominance structures. Currently, upon turning 18, almost half of the children of migration who were born in Italy must present a working contract or a studying justification to remain in Italy where they grew up (Bonini 2009; Save

²⁸ Kincheloe and McLaren (2002), highlighted how Foucault “invites researchers to explore the way discourses are implicated in relations of power and how power and knowledge serve as dialectically reinitiating practices that regulate what is considered reasonable and true.” (p.105)

The Children, 2011). In this way, they are held to the same social status as their parents—third world workers in a first world country (Calavita, 2005). Other structural factors, such as high unemployment levels among young people between 16-24 and the collapse of public education have had greater negative effects on younger people and immigrant families (Fondazione Leone Moressa, 2011). These conditions illustrate the reproduction of inequality in a second generation in accordance with what Bourdieu has termed “the law of conservation of structural violence” (2000, p. 177).

In this study I examine the influence that the materialization of marginal social positioning and identifications can have in children of immigrants’ construction of a sense of self, self-worth, belonging and membership in Italian society. The following section describes the methods I employed to address the influence that structural forces have on the process of identity construction amongst the children of migration.

3.5.1 Methodological commitments of structural forces: Textual analyses of media, policy documents and interventions

To highlight structural forces as a component of identity construction commits the researcher to acknowledge that there are some aspects of our identities that precede and extend beyond us as individuals. These aspects relate not only to the social categories through which we are recognized, but also the value they assume on a macro social level and the ways in which these penetrate the micro contexts of the city. Thus, it is necessary to consider which articulations of social categories are valued within public spaces and which are denigrated. In this study I think of capoeira / parkour almost in an abstract sense, as an important focus of critical inquiry (in as much as it is implicated in hierarchical, iniquitous, unjust power relations and effects). What follows is a process of articulating this “event” to the

multiple material and ideological determinations that suture the event into the conjuncture of which it is a constituent element. The commitment to, and practice of, this process of *articulation* involves: “starting with the particular, the detail, the scrap of ordinary or banal existence, and then working to unpack the density of relations and of intersecting social domains that inform it” (Frow & Morris, 2000, p. 354). In this study, I assert structural forces are the dominant discourses, as well as historical, socio-economic and political processes and power relations influencing (post)migrant youth lives and social trajectories in Turin. To consider how structural forces affect identity construction, I address the action of dominant discourses and “regimes of representation” (Hall, 1996a) through the analysis of media products (i.e. newspapers articles, television programs, and reports) that I collected and archived physically and digitally. Furthermore, to consider the articulations between media, public discourses and practices I integrate media analysis with data gathered through six interviews with key figures implicated in the public lives of immigrant youth (i.e. street educators, social workers, psychologists). Although I did not have the time and resources to fully develop key institutional actors' perspectives, the purpose of their interviews was to gain insight and sufficient background knowledge into how (post)migrant youth are addressed by diverse stakeholders at various levels and from several points of view. Social and political discourses have policy and guidance outcomes. Therefore, I considered and collected official documents, such as urban regeneration projects written by public-private urban development agencies, social projects addressing youth and public spaces, and public communication material regarding Turin's urban renewal policies and processes. These documents will prove useful in providing background information during the discussion of the emerging issues, perspectives, debates on the city of Turin in the following chapters. In chapter 6 specifically, I will address one specific social initiative aiming to engage disenfranchised youth through “sport for inclusion” initiatives by combining an analysis of the project's master plan with operators', and participants' accounts, and ethnographic observations. Addressing the intersecting discourses and processes characterizing recent and long term changes going on in Turin through the

combined perspectives of communication pamphlets, institutional reports, social projects operators and youth, will offer a vivid picture of the context where I met the research participants. The insights provided by the analysis of media texts (Fusco, 2006), policies, and projects of Turin's restructuring enabled me to connect the participants' experiences and accounts with both the invisible and evident neoliberal(izing) processes enacted in the city. Collecting data on the structural forces that discursively and spatially constrained, and enabled, the participants' daily practices allowed me to recognize, understand and articulate apparently distant practices and processes. These included the observed disciplines and the historically specific, internally contradictory “developmental tendencies” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p. 353) currently enacted in the city “always on the move” (Martina, 2002).

An analysis of structural forces in the context of the research enabled me to recognize and illuminate a dominant meta-narrative of (uneven) development (Soja, 1996, p. 126). This meta-narrative has been concretely enacted in Turin through the progressive shrinking and privatization of public services, dismantling of welfare programs, enhancing of international capital mobility (i.e. through the organization of 2006 Winter Olympics and subsequent national and international events), criminalizing the “other” and the urban poor, which paradoxically coexisted with multicultural initiatives “from above” (Schmoll and Semi, 2013) and social inclusion interventions (Brenner and Theodore 2002, p. 353). As the following sections show, I will combine this perspective on structural forces with a closer, “thick”, intimate, daily engagement with research participants. This engagement use various ethnographic methods to address and unpack the embodied, spatial, narrative and situational elements of participants' negotiations of self, place and belonging.

3.6 PERFORMANCE

A second component of identity formation is performance. This relies on a distinction between *being* and *doing* identity (Lawler, 2012), which has been often conflated as a separation between the ‘authentic’ self, and the ‘performative’ self, merely assuming a role. Lawler disputes such bifurcation given her argument that identity must always be done, as a pre-requisite for being (2012, p. 103). This approach views identity as a process as opposed to an innate quality. This distinction is important if identity is constructed and not given, and points to the role of others’ social performances in shaping the way individuals conceive of themselves (Harre, 1998, Harre and van Langerhove, 1999). It has been argued that while words and action are bound in intractable union, these components can be usefully separated into ‘performance’ and ‘narrative’ as a heuristic device guiding empirical research (Brown, 2014, p. 85).

Performances are the processes and outcomes of the individual’s actions and interactions with others in determining self. While such actions may well include others, their role in identity construction refers to the physical expression of identification. To treat performance as an element of identity making, is to position the physical body as a site where the individual, political and social elements of life and history collide. The physical is a site where structural elements such as gender, ethnicity, and “ability” are inscribed (Bourdieu, 1977), as well as negotiated (Lindgaard, 2009). The body features as a component of identity making not only in the judgments inscribed upon it, but also as an active tool that can mediate and negotiate the meanings that structural forces bring to bear. The children of migration can reclaim their body, even if they cannot do so in conditions of their choosing (Giardina and Newman 2011b, p. 182).

Following this perspective I acknowledge that performance and identity construction are intersubjective, and I focus on the relational aspect of *becoming* a subject (Lindegaard, 2007, p. 60). As Lindegaard suggests: “What I become is not a matter of ‘me’ and ‘him’; it is a matter of how I become articulated by him and how he becomes articulated by me” (2007, p. 60). In this negotiation of social positions and categories, performance is a navigation tool for reaching short or long term personal goals. However, as Vigh (2009, 2010) and Lindegaard (2007; 2009) have underlined, actors’ performances are influenced by subjects’ reflexivity on their own social positioning, by their ability to act in a setting, as well as by the short or long term plans about what they want to achieve. Acknowledging such considerations allowed me to interrogate myself, as well as the participants, about the stakes, abilities, and the intended and unintended implications and consequences of (post)migrant youth bodily performances in public spaces.

3.6.1 Methodological commitment of performances: Street ethnography, participant observation, and the embodied politics of research.

By highlighting performances as a component of identity construction, I acknowledge that the social relationships and practices in which we daily engage contribute to construct and define our identities. I also recognize that while performances are personalized, they are enacted through a discursive position that is made available to the subject. In defining the set of methodologies that I used in the research, I take Moyer’s (2005) street ethnography perspective as a methodological approach that takes place ‘down below,’ on the sidewalks, street corners and the back lots of the cityscape. A (street) ethnographic approach enabled my co-presence with respondents in the field as a “passionate participant” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 115). I became a subject actively engaged in facilitating a theoretically driven analysis of physical culture (Markula and Silk, 2011) through daily participation in respondents' practices and lives. I was able to examine social

inequalities and the “self” as a negotiated conjuncture of personal, social, historical and political factors. During fieldwork this approach enabled me to gain valuable insight into young people’s practices, daily navigation and use of public spaces and the power relations affecting their lives. A street ethnographic perspective was indispensable for gathering insights and findings to answer the research question(s) and the research aim of articulating conditions of uneven development (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996; Brenner and Theodore 2002) in the daily lives and practices of research participants.

Furthermore, I enacted an ethnographic approach by engaging with an embodied participation of capoeira and parkour, which meant that I became directly and physically involved in the participants capoeira and parkour trainings and meetings. Being recognized as a fellow experienced *capoeirista*, and as a beginner *traceur* made access to the group of young male participants relatively spontaneous. Also, since I had also conducted research on capoeira and parkour in Turin in 2011, I had established relatively long lasting relationships with few of the participants. This helped me significantly both in the process of participants' involvement and outlining the general objectives of my presence amongst them. This was especially true for the participatory video-project²⁹. At the beginning of the research I contacted three young men of immigrant origin who were all practicing capoeira and parkour and whom I already knew. I asked to meet with them to discuss the research and possible common objectives we might have had to conduct this new project together. In early meetings they all brought fellow practitioners, most of whom also had an immigrant origin as well. Snowball sampling continued as the research began in Turin public spaces, where I met other young men practicing capoeira and parkour who were not strictly included in the initial sample. Finally, during the research process I engaged with approximately 20 *capoeiras* and *traceurs* in almost daily training routines and ethnographic encounters. I engaged in a closer ethnographic relationship with eight of these young men, including in

²⁹ The participatory video-project will be addressed more in details on the paragraph dedicated to visual methods.

depth interviews, focus groups and a participatory video project³⁰. However, I did not use my bodily engagement and observant participation of capoeira and parkour only for purposes of accessing participants and their social world. Engaging with capoeira and parkour enabled me to relate my own experiences with these disciplines with the experiences some participants described when talking about the inexplicable energy coming out from the capoeira *roda*³¹ the intensity of the emotions transmitted by music and singing (see also Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2015, in relation to the role of music in roller derby), and the feelings and embodied sensations attached to overcoming obstacles in parkour. Authors like Wacquant (2004) and Stoller (1997) have underlined how apprenticeship can represent a powerful means to penetrate social worlds, through a “sensuous commitment” that provides the researcher with embodied elements to understand participants’ uses, values and attached experiences with the studied practices. In this research, I used my performing body as a pool of data, a collector of data and an interpreter of data in knowledge creation (Newman and Giardina, 2011b, p. 182).

However, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in following a PCS' approach towards investigating physical cultures, I present a self-reflexive analysis of my embodied participation and my political, moral, gendered, racialized bodily presence in the field in the following chapters. Therefore I reflect on how my own body constituted a primary terrain for the articulation of power and bios (Francombe et al. 2014, p.472), influenced the field of research (apart from the imagined and somehow desired expectations), and was influenced by the relationship with participants and the practices I engaged with. “Working the hyphens” (Fine 1994) meant self-reflexively addressing the body politics of the research performance (Giardina and Newman, 2011b p. 180), and considering two relational points. First, my body also ‘does’ class, gender, race, so it unwittingly

³⁰ The “selection” process that brought me to work more closely with this smaller number of participants was relatively spontaneous and related mostly to the participants' preferences, time availability, and interest in the activities I proposed.

³¹ The circle where the *capoeiristas* play instruments and sing.

influenced talk, attitudes, gestures amongst interlocutors. Second, without a self-reflexive engagement in the research process, my own views could be confused with the participants, thus muting the participants' own voices in the very effort of "giving them a voice". The contributions of Carrington (2008), Giardina and Newman (2011a, 2011b), Francombe, Rich and De Pian (2014) orient my self-reflexive considerations about the nuanced, critical and contradictory elements of my embodied presence in the research. Drawing on these insights on the researcher's embodied and political presence in the field, I address the meaning I give to my personal engagement with capoeira and parkour, and how my "body work" could have been interpreted by the participants. I am relatively aware that through my continuous engagement with capoeira for over fifteen years, I can personally refer to this practice as a technology of the self³² (Foucault 1988), a discipline I voluntarily subjected myself to in pursuing the enhancement, improvement and discovery of expressive, physical, and life skill. However, in the discussion chapters I consider the extent to which my bodily engagement with both disciplines differed from the participants, and how they interpreted, and consumed it. Furthermore, through self-reflexive and critical commitment, I address through the ethnographic discussion how my own engagement with capoeira and parkour as technologies of the self relates to a kind of individualized, neoliberal constitution of the subject as a self-surveilling actor and maker of his own path, fortune, and failure. Reflexively addressing these questions using the practices I lived and studies is fundamental for problematising the mutual constituting of the Self, Other, and social context (Carrington 2008, p. 421).

Having placed my researching body in among other bodies, and sharing practices and experiences, I examine and elucidate the politics of exclusion/inclusion, gender, corporeality acting upon and within the groups I interacted with in Turin

³² A quite conspicuous scholarship engaged with technologies of the self in relation to a wide variety of sporting practices (Markula, 2003, 2004; Markula and Pringle, 2006; Jones and Aitchison, 2006; Thorpe, 2008; Spowart et al., 2010) and to capoeira and parkour (Fuggle, 2008; Owen, 2014). In Chapter 6 I address the concept and this literature in relation to participants' engagement with the examined practices.

public spaces (Giardina and Newman 2011b, p. 187). The self-reflexivity about my bodily presence in the field urged by the PCS approach enabled me to reflect on the inevitable power differentials between the participants and me. Being reflexive about power relations enabled me to understand and analyse how my bodily presence inevitably facilitated, and inhibited, the emergence of specific issues, attitudes and practices in the interactions with the participants. Keeping a research diary enabled me to understand through writing (Richardson, 1994; Richardson and Adams St. Pierre 2005) how my personal, embodied experiences and assumptions about social reality, and how my privileges and power affected my engagement with the world. Confronting my reflections and observations with the participants' own accounts in the research diary enabled me to locate and recognize their voices without hiding behind them, thus avoiding that ventriloquy that Michelle Fine (1992) sees as a problematic and objectifying element of Others' representation in research.

In the following chapters I will elaborate on how my methodological choices enabled me to reflect, recognize and disrupt the power differences between me and the participants when possible and meaningful. In the next sections, I explore how this ethical, methodological, and political approach was partially possible through my chosen embodied positioning in the field, and contributed to the creation of spontaneous, informal moments of dialogue and performative pedagogic encounters (Giroux 2001, 2004a) with the young men in the research.

3.7 NARRATIVES

A number of identity theorists have pointed to narratives as representing a fundamental element in constituting and positioning social actors in their social worlds (Hall, 1990; Somers, 1992; Sfard and Prusak, 2005; Brown, 2014). Hall argued that identities are “the names we give to the different ways we are

positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past [...] always constructed through memory, fantasy, myth” (1990, p. 225). Somers (1992) suggested that people locate themselves within available repertoires of stories. For the children of migration, these repertoires of stories often imply the reproduction of transnational bonds (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2002). However, even the supposed raw truths of performed, or transmitted, events, are continually reshaped and recreated as they “shade and patch and combine and delete” details, context, action and meanings (Hacking, 1995, p. 250-251). While narratives may be located within lived experience, they involve much more than simple description. Rather, narratives refer to the interpretive devices we have for making sense of the world and our place within it: “If narrative makes the world intelligible, it also makes ourselves intelligible” (Moore, 1994, p. 119). Narrative is implicated in identity construction both as the motivator for the (post)migrant youth’s practices and interactions, as well as the processes by which their behaviours are explained and rendered meaningful for the self and others.

Butler’s (1990, 1993, 1997) account of discursive performativity can unpack the inter-connections between structural forces, performance and narratives, and address the ambivalent enactment of public narratives of the self (and to the self) in public spaces by the children of migration. Drawing on Butler’s discussion of *performance* and *performativity* (1990, 1993, 1997), I contend that the narratives (post)migrant youth publicly stage in Turin cityscape represent the act(s) by which a subject brings into being what it names (i.e. social identifications which are different from dominant assumptions and expectations regarding male immigrant bodies in public spaces) and the, “reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constraints” (Butler, 1993, p.2). This is evident in the reproduction of commodified images of individualised, rebellious, muscular masculinities in capoeira and parkour practice. As we are reminded by Youdell (2003, p.6) in invoking Butler, “[b]eing called a name” (Butler, 1997, p.2) is a prerequisite for being “recognizable” (Butler, 1997, p.5, original emphasis) as a

subject”. Thus, it is possible that (post)migrant youth negotiation of objectifying identifications in Italian society both represents a creative response to exclusionary dynamics, and implies the possible identification with selective representations of male active (immigrant) bodies. This explanation underlines the ambivalent, negotiated and political dimension of children of immigrants’ identity negotiations as acts through which participants both negotiate dominant discourses and power relations while simultaneously being acted upon by them.

3.7.1 Methodological commitments in considering narratives: Interviews, focus groups and the representation of testimonial voices.

Methodologically, addressing narratives means highlighting the multiple stories, told of/by children of immigrants. During fieldwork I engaged in a flexible range of narrative methods (i.e. semi structured and in-depth interviews, focus groups, informal conversations and group interviews) to address and highlight the participants’ narratives, points of view and stories. The flexibility and creativity implied in the use of various methods was due both to the informal, fluid characteristics of the spaces where the research took place, and my intention to accommodate the participants’ preferences in choosing the places, times and occasions they considered appropriate to tell their stories. On specific occasions, informal conversations and playful group interviews strengthened the process of creating rapport with the participants. Usually such informal moments of ethnographic conversations happened during our communal training and enabled me to engage with a larger number of participants whose stories and perspectives could have been difficult to hear otherwise. In these informal moments I was far from the position of “chairing”, directing or even starting conversations. Nevertheless, I used these informal moments to make sense of my interlocutors’ daily practices, routines, tastes and concerns. When I had the opportunity and felt it was a good moment I prompted further discussion with questions addressing

specific issues, such as experiences participants had mentioned, or their rapport with popular cultures iconic figures (i.e. Bruce Lee) who inspired their daily practices and ambitions. On many occasions these informal sessions were as meaningful, reflexive and revelatory about the participants' points of view, and experiences as more structured and planned moments. After a period during which a certain degree of trust and rapport was created I proposed some respondents to participate in in-depth interviews and focus groups within more formal settings. Twenty-one research participants were involved in eighteen semi-structured, in-depth interviews and 3 focus groups (involving respectively 2 groups of 6 and one group of 7 participants). The mutually informative relationship between narratives and performances motivated me to consider the participants' narratives in the light of social interactions. Therefore during interviews and focus groups, I involved participants in discussing images or videos of their practices in various settings, to grasp the situational meaning of participants' practices³³, and the participatory video project I discuss in the following section. Furthermore, I understood that it was critically important to also consider individual's narratives over time and across various contexts. For this reason I engaged in semi-structured interviews, an average of 2 each, with a smaller number of six young men who showed major interest in the research. As mentioned above, this ongoing dialogue enabled me to appreciate the continuities, contradictions and progressive adjustment/refinement of the participants' narratives. At the same time, the dialogue represented an occasion for the interlocutors to reflect on make their narratives explicit, as well as to discuss and re(de)fine them. On several occasions the participants insisted on re-addressing issues discussed in a previous interviews (or conversations) since they had something to add, express more clearly, or to contradict what they had said earlier. These repeated interviews represented occasions when the interviewer/interviewed roles were blurred since the beginning or the end of an interview was characterized by a long, well-thought-out and sharp series of questions to me from an

³³ For example, *Mestre Russo de Caxias*, stated in a capoeira workshop at the University of Bath "What capoeira is depends on the interaction between players, and the context around them: what capoeira is depends from the moment" (Fieldnotes, November 2014). On similar perspectives regarding parkour, see Fuggle (2008).

“interviewee”, ranging from the reasons that had brought me to this research, why this research should matter to non-capoeiras/traceurs (even more so, to a university), and my own reasons for leaving Italy. I saw these moments not only as precious occasions to build on rapport and trust with the participants, but also as important moments of the dialogical research process.

I involved respondents in three focus groups, since I thought it was pertinent to consider parallels in individual narrative accounts, and to explore the extent to which it was possible to ascertain social narratives, for example, what it means to be a *traceur*, or *capoeirista*. Another reason to conduct focus groups was the intention to explore and link the participants' perspectives and experiences that could not be addressed in a one-to-one interaction (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 903). I organized the focus group discussions around key-themes that emerged consistently from participants' accounts and experiences during fieldwork. As Kamberelis and Dimitriadis have argued, focus groups can represent unique formations of collective inquiry where theory, research, pedagogy and politics merge, and thus offer unique insights into the possibilities for critical inquiries addressing real world problems and asymmetrical power relations (2005, pp. 887-888). As the authors suggested focus groups can be “consciousness raising groups” (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 2005, p. 893) that can empower marginalized social actors and de-centre the researcher's authority, thus providing participants with another site to talk about their interests, investments and concerns. Thus, focus groups can constitute spaces for generating collective narratives, and occasions where such narratives can provide individuals/groups with the opportunity to recognize and strengthen their own voice. Focus groups in the study aimed to represent a critical pedagogical practice despite the limitations in time and resources. The discussions were not intended to extract data from participants. Rather, they were intended to accomplish reciprocity, dialogue, social justice and the emancipatory possibilities of collective work (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Participants' responses to this dialogical effort were surprisingly engaged and

communicative. Many of them showed appreciation in various moments towards the possibility to discuss their lived, or “inherited” migratory experience, including the simultaneous, ambivalent, co-existing feelings of self-realization and isolation experienced while growing up in Italy, and uncertain and yet-to-be-imagined future perspectives. One of the study's important methodological site was appropriated by participants as an occasion to confront themselves and address their experiences, desires and concerns, as will be discussed more in detail in the discussion chapters.

3.7.2 Methodological and political choices of representation: Testimonial narratives

In looking to significantly represent the complex and contradictory narratives of my interlocutors in this study I adopt a representation inspired by the practice of *testimonio* (Beverley, 2005). Following Beverley's (2005) definition, testimonial narrative is a heterogeneous form of “novella-length narrative, produced in the form of a printed text, told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events she or he recounts. Its unit of narration is usually a 'life' or a significant life experience” (p. 547). As Beverley notes in recent years testimonial narrative has come prominently onto the agenda of the human and social science since in its production, circulation and reception it intertwines the “desire for objectivity” and “the desire for solidarity” as cognitive modes of meaning construction and interpretation (p. 547). Being faced by the methodological challenge of choosing a textual representation enabling to represent the research engaged agenda, and to return a sense of the intensity and complexity of the participants' narratives, the option to engage with testimonial narrative fit most of this study's aims and concerns regarding the politics of participants' textual representation. Therefore, I chose to start every discussion chapter (Chapters 4-5-6) with one participant's testimonial narrative, which then set the scope for the theoretical discussion in the chapter and introduce the other participants' voices.

The use of testimonial narrative in this study places participants' voices in the foreground of the ethnographic text, and corresponds to the study's objective to facilitate a confrontation of a subject (the reader, or me in the research) with another subject (the narrator) even if only on the written page (Beverley, 2005, p. 555). Beverley's (2005) *testimonio* characterizes a narration of self-identity that cannot be separated from the social context and group that it narrates, in this case children of immigrants in early 21st century Turin. Furthermore, by implying that the “personal is political” testimonial narrative reflects my aim to articulate participants' daily, personal engagement with capoeira and parkour with the broader condition of possibilities shaping and being shaped by the participants' practices.

Nevertheless, my engagement with testimonial narrative does not relate only to a specific application of the main characteristics of this method. To engage with my interlocutors' narratives and give justice to participants' stories, I also acknowledge the work of Sayad (2002, 2008) whose methods showed striking similarities with testimonial narratives and present affinities with this study's themes, questions and objectives.

It is generally agreed that most *testimonio* literature represents subaltern voices that have a political agenda in narrating their lives and the facts they witnessed³⁴ (Beverley, 2005, p. 551-553). In general, the narrators' urgency to make known and highlight the suffering and struggle of subaltern or discriminated groups represents one of the main constituents of such type of textual representation. However, when participants narrated their life stories, the urgency I felt in their voices and their eagerness to share with me their stories was not an explicitly political one. Still, the intensity of the participants' accounts, words, bodily expression when speaking made me feel that their narration was *urgent matter* to them. Rather than to fulfil a

³⁴ See also Binford (2000) and Beverley (2005) for an analysis of the critiques and contested “truth claims” surrounding the political standpoints of testimonial narratives. Both authors refer and elaborate on the case of Rigoberta Menchú's *testimonio* (1984) critiqued by Stoll (1998).

political agenda, this urgency responded to these young men's crucial need to (re)define themselves, their stories, trajectories, and place in the world in an open-ended narration and performance of the self striving for meaning and coherence.

In acknowledging this subtle, but significant difference in the s(t)akes of self-narration in the *testimonio*, and in the participants' narratives, I consider another example of representation in which the narrating voice is a member of a muted, subaltern group. In his research with Algerian immigrants in France from the 1960's to the 1980's, Abdelmalek Sayad paid close attention to the meaning his interlocutors' gave to their migratory trajectories. Most often his ethnographic contributions were focused on a single person who provided long autobiographical accounts of their experiences. Sayad's methodological approach shares some hypothetical affinities with testimonial narrative, mostly due to his long term engagement with his interlocutors and the communities he worked with, which enabled him to articulate individual trajectories with large scale historical, social, and demographic movements over long periods (Saada 2000, p. 35). In Sayad's texts the "researched" became the researchers and observers of themselves, since the researcher's presence only provided an occasion to express and speak out about the product of a long, thoughtful process (Sayad, [1993] 2008, p. 16). Still, as Saada (2000) has reminded, Sayad was not engaged in a practice of (political) denunciation, but rather of *demystification*. Sayad's demystification addressed Bourdieu's sociological concern with exposing the contradictions of social phenomena. The Algerian author was mainly concerned with showing the "objective illusions" at work in the phenomenon of migration (Saada, 2000, p. 38). Reading participants' narratives in Sayad's texts it is possible to perceive a tension that cannot be fully represented by the political denunciation of immigrants' suffering and lived inequalities, though such elements were clearly articulated in his sociological analysis. In various cases, the narrators' words, and critiques, were not only aimed outwards, to a wider society or to the "bourgeois public sphere" (Beverley, 2005, p. 548), arguing over their conditions and struggles as *immigrants*.

In Sayad texts, the narrators' reflections were also aimed inwards, to voice the pressure and expectations of the family, community and country of origin, thus enabling the reader to understand the ambiguities and paradoxes related to the narrators' conditions as *emigrants*. It is possible to assume that Sayad and his interlocutors were involved in a process of self-narration during which narrators' voices articulated the contradictions they confronted daily as simultaneously *emigrants and immigrants*, showing a possible transition from self-analysis to “socio-analysis” (Saada, 2000, p. 38). Sayad was convinced that the process of demystification would represent a means for his interlocutors to be “better armed” against the contradictions they faced as individuals³⁵.

These distinct, but to some extent related methods of qualitative research and textual representation enabled me to define how I wanted to engage with my interlocutors' narratives. As I stated above, the participants' urgency in recounting their stories, practices and concerns did not refer an explicit political program of social transformation or denunciation of unequal social conditions, as many examples of *testimonio* have done (Beverley 2005). Nevertheless, I argue that even if not explicitly framed as such, the participants' first person narrations in this text *are inherently political*, since they address the daily struggles of navigating and negotiating the power relations and contradictions that permeate their lives. Also, the participants' accounts in this study reflect the ways in which the visions of many autobiographical accounts in Sayad texts were critical both towards the country, and social institutions, of “adoption” and origin. Nevertheless it was difficult, but not unimaginable for participants to enact the “distancing from themselves” that Sayad recognized as enabling an engagement in a demystification practice ([1993] 2008, pp. 15-16). The aim of the specific testimonial method I use in this study is to literally let my interlocutors speak for themselves, explain with

³⁵ On Sayad's, and Bourdieu's, vision of the liberatory function of sociology see Sayad's “The wrongs of the absent” (2002, pp. 187-218), and Bourdieu's reflections on *sociology as a martial art* (Carles 2001): “I often say sociology is a martial art, a means of self-defense. Basically, you use it to defend yourself, without having the right to use it for unfair attacks.” (Bourdieu in Carles, 2001)

their words who they are, where they come from, who they become in their daily interactions, and who they wish to be(come) in the future. In these narrations the participants critique and consider contradictions in their lives and conditions in the very moments they overlook others. As they generously share their stories with me, and with you, in the pages of this research, I assume that their gestures are able to “[j]oin the dots. Tell politics like a story. Communicate it. Make it *real*. Present impassioned polemics. And refuse to create barriers that prevent ordinary people from understanding what is happening to them” (Roy 2004, cited by Andrews and Giardina 2008, p. 409). Following Binford (2000, p. 17), the short testimonial narratives offered in this study can be considered small essays on the relationship between individuals and their social context, and can be read as simultaneously *descriptive*, *analytical* and *transformative*. The narrators described personal and historical processes from below, provided a (self)analysis that suggested elements for a socio-analysis, and inspired actions to bring about a qualitatively and improved state of affairs (Binford, 2000, p. 17). I assume that actions bringing about improvements and change *could* include readers engaging with participants' narratives. The audience of the participants' narratives could get to know their lives and negotiations of these young men from their own voices, and act to change stereotyping categories about immigrants and their children. However, the transformative reading suggested by Binford includes the narrator(s). I assume that some of the participants' “capture of speech” (De Certeau, 1998), their will to evoke, construct, articulate personal and family events, subjective thoughts and “objective” contexts, constituted an attempt to make explicit, come to terms with, and (re)define themselves and their stories, while also “training” them to face manifold paradoxes and unequal relations shaping their lives and imagined horizons.

3.8 DYNAMIC ARENAS (OF SPACE AND TIME)

If structural forces are the vectors by which structures stake their claim on the individual, and performance and narrative mediate individuals' interpretation, negotiation and inhabitation of the meanings that structural forces bring to bear, the role of dynamic arenas in identity construction is in determining the locality in which the negotiations take place. This requires consideration of the structural, performative and narrative elements of identity construction as they are mediated within the spatial and temporal parameters of the city spaces occupied by the participants. This approach is influenced by the relationships between space, time and power and thereby how the organization of spaces regulates and normalizes the rhythms of the city and its inhabitants (Lefebvre 1991; Soja, 1996), as addressed in Chapter 2.

It is important though to draw a definition between *spaces* as physically bounded city sites (i.e. the park, parking lot, or shopping centres) and the interaction between space and time in shaping the various contextual meanings that spaces occupy. Lefebvre addressed this differentiation through the discussion of *representation of space* and *representational space* (1991), and De Certeau as well persuasively described the constituencies of *spaces* and *places* (De Certeau, 1984). Another way of doing this is to talk of “territories”, as the symbolic sites transposed upon spaces (Brown, 2011, 2014). Territories are spaces in a context of the activities that are practiced within them and the rules, rituals, rites and regulations that govern them. The practices of parkour and capoeira in urban public areas enable us to address the distinction between spaces and territories. In practicing capoeira and/or parkour, groups of children of immigrants can transform urban spaces into playgrounds. In the “playground territories” these groups are able to socialize, amuse themselves, and contingently negotiate marginalizing

identifications and positioning in the city spaces (De Martini Ugolotti, 2015, pp. 7-9). By representing themselves, and possibly being recognized, as *traceurs*, or *capoeiras*, children of immigrants can temporarily change their relationships with bystanders, and other users of space, and respond to their identification as groups of immigrant “thugs/drug dealers/sex offenders”. However, at any moment the definition of territory may change according to the actors or groups present in the space, and to the power relations implied. For example, if a group of “concerned” citizens protest against young people's use of spaces through capoeira and parkour, or a police patrol arrives, groups of young *traceurs* and *capoeiras* can be represented and perceived to be groups of (post)migrant disruptive youth, and the playground territory returns to being an “illegitimate” territory. In this “illegitimate territory” parkour and capoeira can be used opportunistically to change location smoothly and rapidly (as both practices imply), or as a means to try to use the *capoeirista* and *traceur* identification to claim the participants' right to stay in public spaces. Acknowledging the dynamic nature of territories can illuminate how the public spaces where participants practice capoeira and parkour can shift in meaning, use and “temperature” according to the presence and interactions of multiple groups and subjects at various times. Therefore, focusing on the actors' social and spatial environments as dynamic arenas enables us to comprehend the dynamism of space and time in the shaping of migrant youth identities. This focus captures the agentic capacity of subjects in negotiating various *roles* within shifting interactions, without losing a sense of self-worth and value provided by their identification as *capoeiras* and/or *traceurs*.

3.8.1 Methodological commitments in considering dynamic arenas: Visual methods and participatory video-making

To treat dynamic arenas as a component of identity construction recognizes that performances do not operate within a vacuum, rather they are legitimized, and

mediated through the “rules” both socially agreed upon, and physically possible within the setting (see also Pink, 2011). This points the researcher towards the physical layout of a public park, for example, including the borders and benches, walls, trees, and proximity to other demarcated public spaces such as the street, and shopping centres. It also highlights the identification of the rules, norms and expectations that govern the social performances contained within. This is not an easy task given that these will shift according to the practice carried out within.

Long established in anthropology and sociology, visual methods use processes of visualization to generate “culturally sensitive, relevant and contextualized” (Azzarito 2012, p. 296) data, and are also often used to start processes of participatory research with participants (Wang and Burris 1994, 1997; Wang 1999; Guillermin and Drew 2010; Azzarito 2012; Azzarito and Kirk, 2013). Guillemin and Drew (2010, p. 178) have suggested that the use of visual methods by respondents may be a part of a participatory and emancipatory research agenda that takes participants seriously as knowers, or “experts of their own lives” (Azzarito, 2012, p. 297), thus reducing researcher/researched power relations. Within this research, the use of visual methods enabled me to capture the visual dimensions of the observed practices and to have an understanding of the physical and symbolic possibilities, as well as limits, of narrative and performance. Furthermore, I engaged with a visual participatory methodology with the aim to further place participants’ views, rather than researcher’s assumptions, in the foreground, to help contextualize the field of research, and to literally hear participants’ voices, therefore reducing a reliance on words both in gathering data and representing respondents’ perspectives and insights (Azzarito 2012; Azzarito and Kirk, 2013).

I engaged with a group of eight participants and two video makers³⁶ in the production of a participatory video. The project involved respondents in the co-

³⁶ Andrea Fantino and Shahrzad Behzadi kindly offered their patience and professionalism to in creating the participatory video, and their contribution throughout the process was fundamental.

production of a short documentary in which they could describe and discuss their involvement in capoeira and parkour as well as address other significant issues in their lives. This method provided a unique means to engage with participants. As a methodological tool, the video project represented a valuable opportunity to access and gain the trust of some of respondents, as well as to engage with them in moments of self and group interrogation and discussion. As a research *product*, the participatory video will provide a meaningful means of public engagement with the themes and issues addressed in this research, and represented a valuable means of disseminating this study beyond the academic audience of specialized peer reviewed journals and conferences (Finley 2005, p. 682). I suggest that the participatory video project is connected and impossible to disentangle from the previous analytical, bodily and narrative methods, and is determinant in framing and exploring the possibilities of dialogic and self-interrogating moments mentioned in this chapter, and discussed further in the following chapters. I assume that the video project represented both a methodological tool enabling me to address the dynamic arenas where participants' negotiations took place, *and* one of the outcomes of this research: a creative space simultaneously asserted for inquiry and (communal) expression (Finley, 2005, p. 689). I intend the participatory creation of a short video-documentary with participants as an act of *border crossing* between researcher and researched, with the aim to construct a rigorous process of inquiry that could also be significant for the groups of young men amongst whom the research originated (Finley 2005, p. 682). In crossing some of the multiple borders that define mine/our, academic, and social, roles in everyday life I situate this methodological instrument within an “emerging tradition of participatory critical action research in social science” (Finley 2005, p. 682) that reflected a recognition of the “power of form to inform” (Eisner 1981, in Finley 2005, p. 684). Following Eisner, I assume that the selection of a form through which the world is to be interpreted not only influences what humans can say but also what are they likely to experience (Eisner [1991] 1998). Therefore, my choice to use a video-documentary as a research method reflects my partial and contextual intuition that such means can provide a significant means to explore the *analytic*,

expressive and *transformative* aims, and characteristics, of this research.

The idea of a participatory video project was implicitly suggested by noting that most of participants were continuously engaged in the production (i.e. through the making and editing of short capoeira and parkour videos), and consumption of video images related to the studied practices. Participants were already exploring video as a means of creativity, socialization, and (self)expression. Acknowledging the use of videos amongst participants (often made with the few instruments at their disposal, such as mobile phone cameras and free-download editing softwares) made it possible for the participatory documentary to represent an alternative way to explore and engage with a technological and expressive tool the participants were familiar with, but through different means, using more technologically advanced and semi-professional material, and shared aims. In contrast to other studies (like Azzarito, 2012; Azzarito and Kirk, 2013; Cherrington and Watson, 2010; Jones et al., 2015) the practical explanation and negotiation of the aims of the video project did not happen through specific structured moments but in informal discussions thorough the daily ethnographic participation to participants' practices. Therefore the unfolding, sometimes messy, co-construction of the video-documentary was coeval and entangled with the other methodological articulations of this ethnography. Participants showed from the start eagerness to engage with the video project as an instrument to share their experiences with capoeira and parkour and go beyond a display of awesome moves and bodily performances. They provided video material gathered during their own practices that we watched with the two video-makers and selected collectively. We often used in the editing both the footage we collected in the research process and old footage provided by participants, as a visual imprint of their developing attitudes and engagement with the studied practices. Participants engaged in different roles and both playfully and seriously “tested” themselves in different roles, camera-man, interviewer, sound-technician, “assistant editor”, thus getting involved in every aspect of the video production. We collectively watched and discussed the progressing video-project

“drafts” in sessions that became spontaneous focus groups in which the making of the video represented a concrete and meaningful connecting point to discuss other issues in participants', and our, daily lives. The progression of this study addresses and displays part of the visual insights and groups discussion's excerpts. These data fluidly integrate this study's discussion, thus highlighting the entangled nexus of embodied, spatial, visual, discursive elements characterizing the reciprocal constitution of the self, body, space, and society (Azzarito, 2012, p. 297). Furthermore, the participatory video accompanying this thesis represents in this sense an important integration of the process of self-definition and creation of a collective voice that this study aims to foster. In this study's conclusions I will discuss how, and to what extent, the participatory video project served as a “pedagogical tool for developing critical dialogue about the [self], body and physical culture” (Azzarito, 2012, p. 298), and between the researcher and the study interlocutors'. As the following chapters will show, choosing to address participants' bodily and spatial negotiations through the creation of images/videos in different moments, interactions, and contexts provided significant and profound insights that merged time, space and self in discernible moments not categorized within rigid disciplinary, or methodological, borders (Slattery and Langerock 2002 p. 350, in Finley 2005, p.686). As such the use of video can make it possible to merge the performed, narrative and situational elements that characterized respondents' identity negotiations in one intersubjective, contingent interaction.

In a concluding methodological note, video cameras were not, and could not, be present in every moment of this ethnography. Although the use of video-cameras possibly enabled access to difficult-to-reach environments and moments for the researcher, it was not intended as an ubiquitous “researching gaze”, a panoptic, surveilling eye aiming to provide a complete account, a “pure vision” (Azzarito and Kirk, 2013, p. 6) of the participants' lives and practices. Using cameras in some moments of the research represented a point of meticulous and ongoing reflection during fieldwork. Despite the participatory/emancipatory aims of the use of video, I

am aware how the use of visual methods it is not devoid of power relations, and how the lens of a camera can evoke expression but also intrusion and surveillance (Azzarito and Kirk, 2013, p. 5). The camera lens can highlight specific power relations while making some actors in the field invisible, even when the camera is in the respondents' hands. I assume that such elements of visual research need to be addressed as much as the embodied relationship with participants. If reflexively and critically used (see Jones et al., 2014), participatory video projects can represent a meaningful way to synthesize and make converge the dynamic, and situational interaction of contexts, narratives, and performances in young people's practices in an expressive form. I assume the use of video cameras significantly enhances the opportunity to grasp the situational nature of the dynamic arenas participants move in, and broadens the range of perspectives available to construct knowledge of the negotiated, contextual nature of participants' identity negotiations (Finley, 2005, p. 685). In the conclusions of this study I will address the product of this act of border crossing not only as an exploration of the analytical potentialities of visual-art research in addressing the themes of identity construction and urban inclusion/exclusion, but also as a potentially transformative instrument of self-expression, and (re)definition for participants.

3.9 ETHICAL COMMITMENTS IN RESEARCH WITH YOUNG PEOPLE

The space taken in the last years by the development of “performance texts” (Finley 2005, p. 689) redirected attention to the process of doing research, rather than looking for truth, answers, and expert knowledge. This emerging focus on the process of knowledge construction rather than the tested generalizability of claims of evidence-based knowledge, made the process of methodological design and representation a fundamental element in qualitative research. Through methodology the researcher articulates the ontological, epistemological and axiological perspective guiding the research process.

As an indispensable requirement of academic research conducting of a study with young men from marginalized and vulnerable social groups, some of whom were minors, and the use of visual methods committed the researcher to attend to self-reflexive and rigorous ethical requirements to avoid damage/harm to participants in the research process (i.e. written informed consent, signed by tutors for underage participants, protection of participants' privacy, participants' co-ownership of the visual material they gathered and co-produced). Making research with young people implies also sharing unexpected moments of suffering and distress. This aspect implies the researchers' capacity both to accept and be aware of the limitations of their role in intervening in distressing situations, while at the same time recognizing their ethical commitment in supporting, accompanying and orienting participants to appropriate services that can provide specialized help (Morrow 2008, p. 54).

On a concluding note, as I situate this research in an engaged, critical scholarship (Giroux, 2001a, 2001b; Lincoln & Denzin, 2005; Kamberelis & Dimtriadis 2005; Finley 2005; Andrews and Giardina, 2008; Silk and Andrews 2011; Francombe et al., 2014), I assume that ethical research has to account for the issue of reciprocity with participants, or the need to make sure not only that participants are not damaged by the research, but more importantly that they benefit from the research. The way I intended and designed this research made me see it as collaborative process, a process through which interlocutors stood to achieve their own objectives, rather than a one way act of taking information from participants: a “hit and run” ethnography (Pink 2007, p. 57; Spyrou, 2011). The integration and incorporation of various methods, of multiple forms of interaction and collaboration in the research process, and the time dedicated to construct and structure meaningful relationships between researcher and participants (Spyrou, 2011), all aimed to enable the establishment of dialogical forms of knowledge between researcher and participants and our body politics.

Engaging with participants in occasions to talk and reflect about their practices, and thus about themselves, in a collaborative, empathetic research relationship, may have been an opportunity for some of them to use the dialogues as occasions to experiment with difference. What experimenting with difference means in this case is engaging in unusual, challenging, or generating situations, and/or with interrogatives/experiences that enable opportunities for awareness and reflection upon the discourses, power relations, socio-economic conditions shaping our everyday lives, and thus providing possibilities to act on them.

I think about identity research as a project enabling the researcher not only to listen, understand and “represent” the participants' voices, but rather to support whomever is involved in the research process (the “researched”, the researcher, the community members involved at any level in the process) in recognizing their own voices, and make them resonate with and confront other collective narratives. The voices of interlocutors used various languages and multiple vocabularies (bodily, linguistic, symbolic), continuously and obstinately looking for the right words, signs and movements to express their contested selves. My ethical aim in this process was to create and engage with a set of moving and intersecting methods, to create connections and processes that not only enabled the production of an analysis, but also provided interlocutors with other words and meanings to add to their already expressive vocabularies.

3.9.1 Concluding Remarks on Identity as a Methodological Sensibility

Since physical culture is both manifest and experienced in various forms, it is incumbent upon us as social researchers to adopt a multi- method approach toward engaging the empirical. We must strive to produce scholarly enquiry that does not ignore the most pressing social problems of our time and produces a politics that offers nothing but more of the same (Giroux, 2001a; 2001b). A key strength

offered by thinking about the identity as a methodological sensibility (and the methods this elicits), is in the production of multiple texts and stories that all construct identity from diverse angles. For the young men in this research the self-constituting process of identity construction represents a continuous, unfolding mode of knowing, naming and shaping the world enacted through bodily and spatial means and practices that are influenced by the discourse(s) available to subjects. While acknowledging the relational basis of identity construction, I nevertheless underscore subjects' fundamental strife for coherence, while mediating between the various types of social recognition we all encounter in our lives (Gee, 2001, p.111). I understand the identity project as a quest for self-value (Brown, 2011), in which the individual strives to inhabit a sense of self that is stable and meaningful to a degree, and enables the subject to respond to the simple, but fundamental questions: "Who am I?", and "What is my place in here?". Addressing the bodily and spatial constituencies of participants' identity journeys represent a multifaceted lens through which to observe and understand their social practices as actions through which (post)migrant youth orient and position themselves in their social worlds, and, in this case, the social landscape of Turin. The sensibility discussed in this chapter points towards an agenda that considers the possibilities created through a methodological approach towards identity helping to develop a *crystallized* (Richardson, 1994), and contextual understanding of actors' daily struggles and identity negotiations, from various "angles of approach" (Richardson, 1994, p. 522). This methodological approach, which included participants in the creation and interpretation of the material discussed in this study, aims to echo Clifford's (1992) description of his understanding of ethnographic work, as an attempt:

"to multiply hands and discourses involved in writing [physical] cultures [...] not to assert a naïve democracy of plural authorship, but to loosen at least somewhat the monological control of the writer/anthropologist and to open for discussion ethnography's hierarchy and negotiation of discourses in power charged, unequal situations" (Clifford, 1992, p. 100)

I assume that the set of methods I used will fruitfully contribute to a scholarship aiming to recognize and articulate global unequal power relationships within local sites of injustices and (situational) negotiations, and in interrogating how contemporary identities are constructed and (re)produced within the spaces of our cities (Hall 1996a; Glick Schiller 2012; Alex, Kaur and St. Louis, 2012). The following chapters further explore identity negotiations by engaging directly with the participants' words, practices and perspectives.

3.9.2 On Analysis

The discussion of the participants' practices and negotiations that follows was made possible by the use of the methodological strategies outlined in this chapter. As mentioned previously, the methods here addressed did not exist in “mutual isolation” (Atkinson and Delamont, 2005, p. 828) and did not relate to discrete, separate phases of the research, but rather continuously informed each other and the unfolding research process both during and after fieldwork. In so doing the methods enabled me to engage with poly-vocal, complex and sometimes contradictory cultural texts that referred to several, overlapping layers of experience and analysis. Working with media texts (Fusco, 2006) and policy perspectives, sensual and embodied experience of space and practice, memories, narratives, and visual (self) portrayals created several, interconnected levels of representation and analysis that enabled me to address the manifold, complex and contradictory constitution and negotiation of identity amongst participants. The work of Johnson and colleagues (2004) explored how an analysis of this kind can be thought of as a form of contingent dialogues that scrutinizes the narratives, practices and forces that are at the heart of a contextualized process of inquiry. This approach to critical inquiry aims to constantly interrogate where power lies in any mundane, “innocent”, “natural” site of daily experience in order to reveal it, name it and make it visible and recognisable. In other words, this approach implies a

reading of, and for, dominance (Johnson et al., 2004; Silk and Andrews, 2011). This type of analysis thus concerns the negotiation of power and structural relations *and* the conditions of possibilities enabling and constraining such negotiation.

Following the contribution made by Johnson and colleagues (2004) the discussion provided in this study engages with four main lines of analysis:

“The first reading focuses on an interpretation of the meanings of actors. A second mode of reading involves an analysis of the cultural forms that actors use—or that use them—as a means of organizing meanings and practice in their lives. The third reading involves a fuller analysis, less site or text specific, of the contexts and relations of power and difference and how they delimit the actions and meaning of actors. Finally, there is a reading that focuses on self-production or self-representation.” (Johnson et al. 2004, p. 227).

Engaging with this analytical framework this study addresses participants' practices and the meanings and stakes they take when enacted in both participants' daily lives and in Turin's public space. This reading is intertwined with an analysis of the historical, political and socio-economic context where the participants practice capoeira and parkour, the city of Turin and its actually existing process of radical spatial and social transformation. The final two readings are tightly articulated, since the discussion addresses the wider discursive conditions (i.e. immigrants' social positioning and prerogatives in Italy, and Europe, neoliberal "freedoms" and health imperatives focusing on young people's bodies and their self-actualising potentials) in which participants' practices and negotiations took place. In this study, I worked to analyse the multi-vocal ethnographic material and engaged with the multiplicities and the overlaps of these layers to provide the most vivid representation of the embodied, spoken, collective dialogues that composed the research process. Engaging with this analytical approach permitted me to highlight the participants' stories and daily negotiations as they intersected and constituted unfolding trajectories that held “both micro and macro, institutional and societal, internal and external” (Andrews and Giardina 2008, p. 413).

4. NEGOTIATING BODY, RACE, AND MARGINALITY IN TURIN

4.1 STARTING THE JOURNEY, INTRODUCING MARCOS

Marcos is a young man of twenty, with a wide chest, thin, straight, dark hair falling on his neck and, sometimes, on his slanted eyes. Loquacity is not a characteristic you would mention if you met him for the first time. Rather, you would say he has politeness and a serious depth in his eyes, which often are more communicative than his tongue. After three years of not seeing each other, we talked in his father's flat about my research on capoeira and parkour and his eventual participation. He listened to me carefully and silently, then concisely commented “I'll let you know next time we meet to train”. No questions, no comments, that was it. He would understand my research, intentions and reliability through my acts than through my words. I decided to start the first discussion chapter of this study with Marcos' story since his words address some issues I analyse in this and the following chapters. His story represents a meaningful start to discuss the participants' bodily and spatial negotiations of the body/race/marginality nexus that marked their daily experiences, ambitions and social trajectories in Turin's social spaces. In this chapter Marcos' narrative serves as a counterpoint to other participants' voices and experiences. Other participants' trajectories, practices, and experiences echo or contrast with Marcos', thus enabling to contextualize and understand participants' ambivalent negotiations of self, place and belonging in 21st century Turin. The discussion in this chapter will outline a perspective on the participants' emerging identities, characterized by a simultaneous openness and rootedness and a combination of diverse cultural and moral attachments and (embodied) desires. The implications of these emerging identities have not been completely addressed by established conceptual frameworks, such as “hybridity” (Bhabha, 1994) and super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007, 2012). By following the participants' narratives and embodied/spatial process of self-constitution, I will address the participants'

manifestation of a “subaltern” cosmopolitanism. The exploration of this perspective on the participants' negotiations of self and place will enable me to critically illuminate and unpack the shifting hierarchies of belonging and dynamics of selective inclusion targeting migrants in Turin's cityscape. In the following chapters, I will also articulate these processes with the progressive commodification and surveillance of diversity, and neoliberal processes of urban, and subjects, (re)formation.

4.1.1 “It all started when...”

It all started when my parents decide to come to Italy, to improve our lives³⁷. Back in Peru things were “sore”³⁸, my parents were both working, but still struggled, and wanted something better for themselves and for us. The first to go was my father in 2000; then the year after my mother went as well. As for me and my sister, we changed places many times when my parents went to Italy, I don't remember much of that period, as I was still 4-5 years old then. In 2002 my parents decided to make us come to Italy; I was about 7 years old then, and I remember me and my sister travelled by bus with a señora [a lady, here meaning a trafficker] from Lima to Sao Paulo, in Brazil, as we could not travel straight to Europe from Peru. From Sao Paulo we took a flight to Paris, and then a train to Turin; the whole journey from Peru probably took a couple of months. I remember that when we went down the train and I saw my parents at the other side of rails I could not control myself, I took my bags and crossed the rails to reach them... the people at

³⁷ Marcos, and other participants' testimonial narratives in the following chapters are written in italics to underline that the narrating voice is not that of the author.

³⁸ In the decade before Marcos' parents migration, Peru witnessed a democratically elected President turn into a dictator, (Alberto Fujimori), and the enactment of drastic neoliberal economic policies (i.e. privatization of most state companies and the creation of an international investment-friendly climate). The so-called “Fuji-shock” (Brooke, 1990), provoked economic and social turmoil and the violent recrudescence of a creeping guerrilla war between the government and movements such as *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) which spread across the country and reached the city capital, Lima (where Marcos lived with his family), in the form of terroristic attacks.

the station needed to stop me and bring me back while I was cursing them in my language, but finally I met again with my mom and dad. I cannot really say if I cried or not, I just felt so happy to see them again, like I couldn't control myself.

4.1.2 Life in Belpaese

In Turin, everything was amazingly different from where I lived before: the streets were tidy, everybody stopped at the traffic lights, the buildings were tall, nobody checked your ticket on the bus, everything, everyone, looked so wealthy. I was so happy to live there with my parents, I was daunted and excited, all looked so modern and brand new. The first period in Italy was positively overwhelming, but as time went my enthusiasm vanished. I would always stay home, my parents won't let me go out and wanted me to study all day. So when I was 10 I started to feel low, to lose interest in school and in everything. I felt like in a continuous state of... bodily and mental dizziness... I was indifferent to anything, as I was in a numb state where days repeated themselves same to each other day after day, and I couldn't care less about anything. It was then that my father told me "Son, here whatever you want to do, if you want to show how good you are, you have to make the double of the effort, because foreigners here are not considered at all". Well, I tell you, to receive such reality-check at 10 years of age from my father was hard! Truth is that my parents passed through a lot since they came to live here. For the first four years we were in Italy, my parents were both illegal and worked off-the-books, my father in construction and in local factories, my mother mostly as an office cleaner or domestic worker. They were paid less than what they were supposed to receive, and was not rare the case when they did not even got paid for their work, for one reason or another. We needed to change flat many times as we were usually living in short-term sub-rentals, that is also why I still have to wait until January 2016 to apply for Italian citizenship³⁹. My parents lived in constant

³⁹ According to Italian law, an immigrant willing to apply for citizenship needs to provide proof of

fear of a foglio di via (deportation notice), even when they started the regularization process. The other day we were discussing with my father about my plans for the future, looking for jobs to make my living and the such, and he told me “See, I could ask at my workplace if they can hire you as well in the company, but to be honest I don't like the idea of my son being treated like shit, I'd like you to have something better than what I had”.

4.1.3 “Be Water My Friend”

At [secondary] school I met Karim and Loris, with whom I started to train first parkour, and then capoeira, and whom now I consider good friends. We were in class together, and probably the reason why we started to get closer to each other at the end of the second year was that no one else would. Karim was the classic guy you look at and say “This is a troublemaker!”, Loris was like “head reclined and gaze lost in the emptiness”, and I was an anti-social who made sure nobody talked to me; take a Moroccan, a Peruvian, and a Siciliano (someone from Sicily) and put them together, it sounds almost like a joke! One day Karim came to us saying we should start training parkour. Apparently he watched a video on youtube and decided we needed to do this too. At the beginning I wasn't interested at all at it, it was more like a duty to me, because Karim kept on calling me out to train, and I said “Ok let's do these things, jumps, kongs [Parkour movement]” with not much enthusiasm (Figure 7).

ten years of residence without interruption. Since many immigrant families end up in sub-rentals or off-the-book rentals for some periods, for an individual it is difficult to apply earlier than 12-14 years of residence in Italy, as in Marcos' case. The response to a citizenship application can take from six months to up to 2-3 years in most of cases.



Figure 9. Abdelrazak performing a kong.

However, as time went on I understood the utility it could have in my life and said to myself “Well I have to, I have to make myself up” and from then it started to become a part of me. Anyhow, I remember what I started to like first at the beginning was that when I finished training, when I was all sweaty and smelling like a wet dog, I sighed “AH!”. I hadn't felt like this for a long time before then. I guess parkour just gave a different flavour to the idea of moving my body, of using it for a purpose which was not winning a competition. Parkour is neither a discipline you do to win something, nor something like going to the gym where everybody do their own exercise with their earphones on, looking at nothing like zombies.

The same happened with capoeira, which I started training almost at the same time as parkour. When I started to spend more time out, I saw some people training or doing rodas in some parks or, you know, open spaces (Figure 8), so me, Karim and others started to join these groups of people and to include capoeira movements in

our training routine, we also joined a community project where they taught capoeira twice a week.



Figure 10. Marcos and Razvan. Capoeira game in a public space (Image from participatory video project).

When I started to train capoeira it was more exciting than when I started parkour, even though now I consider them both the same. The things which attracted me first were the music, the people playing and clapping, the fact that you build that energy together, and also that most of the times the people stop by watching. It is a kind of magnetic energy, a commotion which makes me feel alive and that I am doing something, I don't know, like super meaningful, like the other day we were doing the roda in Piazza Vittorio and this huge crowd stopped to watch us, my heart beat so fast, and I said to my friend "How did we get here?". I guess what attracted most of parkour and capoeira was that in both you aim to make your movements smooth, fluid, so that overcoming challenges and obstacles is not just a matter of strength, but rather of flow, a bit like what Bruce Lee said: "Be water my friend".

4.1.4 “They Are just Trying to Contain Us”

I told you already, this is not the way I started training, at the beginning it was very different, but I add and discover more meaning to what I do everyday as I do it, and now it became the way I use to express myself. And you know that to express myself, to know myself, to get better I use any space in this city which fits the purpose. I would make no use of a gym, even if I could afford it, I couldn't spend my days in a gym as I do when I train out here, at the end life is not inside there, it's here... As for me I just need to go out from my flat and I have everything I need to create my paths, to change them, to test myself. The fun thing is that the right places for me, for us, are places where seldom other people would even give a second look. Take the driveway at that building behind the McDonalds (Figures 11-12).



Figures 11-12. The driveway behind McDonalds (and nearby Ipercoop mall complex).

For passers-by they are just useless, just a driveway, or maybe just part of the background, while we spend hours jumping, slamming, sliding on them, there's a part of us on any of these walls, as well as the “seven fountains”, the “yellow walls” at Lingotto, any other place we use. For the “bathtubs” is the same, so much fun in there, all that jumps at different levels and in between that muddy water you don't really want to fall in ! (Figure 13)



Figure 13. The Bath-tubs.



Figure 14. Forbidden access signpost at the bath-tubs.

Well, you know that already, they just put some brand new signs “forbidden access” (Figure 14) and the carabinieri [military police] have already badly sent

us away a few times, so we don't do that often there now. When the police, or others, send us away they tell us the worst things, that we are gonna die if we do this, that we are nothing, ill-minded, scum. I don't know how to explain this to you, the way it feels, they always go too far with us. There's no place we go to train that, sooner or later, we don't get harassed by police or even by-standers. Many people perceive us as crazy or vandals who disrupt walls, benches and all that, but we don't do that, and they don't see the opportunities we see in those spaces, they just live them for what they are told to, we live them as possibilities to express ourselves. After hearing so often, “you can't stay here, you can't go there”, “your place is Parco Dora”, it feels like they're just trying to contain us (Figure 15).



Figure 15. Parco Dora, Area Vitali

4.1.5 Being a foreigner, being anyone

Actually many people in my community often tell me that I am boring, they treat me as a kind of loser. When we receive visits from our relatives or family friends, often

they make fun of me, they mock me, those who are my age mates, who are all pumped from the gym ask “why do you go outside and risk your life with these jumps?” They keep repeating to me “Oh, you are so boring, go out sometimes, go dance a bit, you should think about living!”. For them living means drinking, having as many girlfriends you can, occasionally get engaged in some fight so that everybody know you are a real man... You know, I'd like to be as any other guy who likes to spend his free time strolling back and forth in the city centre, but man, when I think about it, it just feel ridiculous to me, I do prefer going to train with my friends. Personally, I try not to pay attention to the judgements, or the crap people say; you know, discrimination is everywhere, even amongst the Italians there is discrimination, just the fact of dividing groups between riches, poor, or “wannabe rich”, it's already a discrimination amongst Italians themselves. Instead for me, I don't know, as a foreigner or, at least defined as one, I can be anyone, I don't see much difference between one person and another. I can socialize with anyone, for me it isn't about where you are from, how much do you earn, or how do you look like, it is what are your interests and how do you behave. Maybe this is related to the fact that I don't completely identify myself with anything really. I don't identify myself completely as Peruvian, as there are many things of “being Peruvian” I don't feel as mine. Neither I can say I feel Italian, I have been raised here, I spent most of my childhood and adolescence here, I even like it here, but I don't feel Italian. There are moments I feel like I don't want to stay here anymore. I don't know, it is like I carry a piece of many things, but it's hard to fit all these pieces together. At the end of the day, I see myself as someone who tries to put many things together, because you can learn a lot from everything, isn't it? All these things together they build, they define who I am and where I want to go.

4.2 ADDRESSING THE BODY AND IDENTITY THROUGH CAPOEIRA AND PARKOUR

“There are people who spend their lives studying, trying to understand,

I don't know, philosophical things and they get it, they get who they are, what kind of person they want to be, right? And then there are people like me, and my friends, we get it through other ways... we get it through “sports”.” (Marcos, 20 years old)

“Capoeira for me has been an instrument through which I managed to find my way to belong in here ... it helped to define who I am, to read and unveil society: the place I live in, the people around me” (Dragan, 19 years old)

“When you train you see who you are, you find yourself... it becomes your life. If I don't train⁴⁰, I feel like this [he crosses the wrists, as if he is handcuffed]” (Alex, 20 years old)

While starting my analysis of the ethnographic material, I re-read and listened participants' accounts of their engagement with capoeira and parkour, like Marcos', Dragan's and Alex' above. Their narratives suggested that participants' relationships with these practices went far beyond an enthusiast participation in an amusing free-time activity. In the eyes and the daily lives of the participants, capoeira and parkour represented instruments enabling them to redefine their life contexts and themselves (see also Fuggle, 2008; De Martini Ugolotti, 2015). The participants' deep engagement with capoeira and parkour thus seemed to provide further layers of complexity to Sayad's statement “The immigrant owns only his/her body” (2002, p. 345). In accordance with Sayad's words, the body was the only thing participants owned in the field, and the main indicator through which they were categorized and addressed in urban spaces. However the quotes above showed how the participants' made use of the first tool they had at their disposal (see Mauss 1992 [1935]), to negotiate a contested sense of self worth, and (self) recognition, through their engagement in capoeira and parkour.

Marcos' story, as well as Dragan' and Alex's words, are emblematic and provide some meaningful insights to start the discussion on the role that the (active) body and “sports” took in defining their and other participants' selves and their desired

⁴⁰ General references to “training” refer both to capoeira and parkour, since all the participants engaged in both practices at various levels.

ambitions and trajectories. Dragan' and Alex's accounts reflected those of several participants when describing how they used capoeira and parkour as means to reinterpret their bodies not just as *surfaces* where histories, events, social positioning, internal divisions were inscribed, reflected and conflated, but also as *sites* enabling articulations that challenged categories and opened up unforeseen possibilities: the possibility to “find yourself” or, in specific social contexts, to have an experience of inclusion and membership thanks to commitment and abilities. The evident relationship the participants acknowledged between the practices they engaged with and their tentative process of self-fashioning did not pass exclusively through the acquisition, or desire to acquire, a specific *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977) related to one specific practice, as in the case of British capoeiras acquiring “Brazilian smooth hips” extensively described by Delamont and Stephens (2006a, 2006b, 2008a, 2008b, 2013). Rather, the participants reflexively, but not consciously (Lindegaard, 2009, p. 60), poached bits and pieces⁴¹ of the open ended capoeira and parkour embodied vocabulary (see Stapleton and Terrio, 2009, p. 22), while attempting to answer to fundamental questions of “Who am I?”, “Where, and what, is my place?”. Due to the context described in chapter 1, these questions represented interrogatives that “traditional” social institutions (i.e. family, school, but also organised leisure activities) seemed to have difficulty addressing successfully. Therefore, the following sections of this chapter will take a cue from the material presented to explore the participants' use of their bodies as a means to negotiate the marginal, and often ethnically charged social categories and positioning, and the shifting articulations of body, race and marginality in contemporary Turin. As a first step to address the implications and consequences of these contested negotiations, the following section will explore in more detail how the participants' bodily engagement in capoeira and parkour represented an insightful interface to understand and explain their contested process of self-fashioning and recognition.

⁴¹ In relation to this, Latour's (2005) reinterpretation of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* through the digital image of “plug-in” for example proposed that, rather than just somehow *absorbing* a principle of vision and division and then unconsciously letting it dictate the way we respond to any given situation, subjects, *grab* very specific competences that will only come in handy in a very few situations, and then either use them or not (p. 207).

4.3 LATOUR'S FREE-RUNNING IN THE *RODA*: CAPOEIRA AND PARKOUR AS BODILY ARTICULATIONS

“Since I started to practice [both capoeira and parkour] I feel my body and I feel I know myself better. It is like my body has always been not mine, like on autopilot. Now I feel I know how my emotions and body react to certain situations [...] I am starting to become aware of when my breath starts to accelerate and get short, the muscles get tense, my mind sees fewer and fewer options or simply doesn't know what to do [...] Now I feel like I know how to face things in my life better: an obstacle, somebody provoking me or something even worse.” (Ciprian, 16-years-old)

In chapter 2, I suggested that the active body could represent a unique point of observation to analyse the identity negotiations enacted by the research participants. In particular, I assumed that the participants' experiences and standpoints regarding capoeira and parkour could relate meaningfully to the discussion of Latour's analysis of the acquisition, or re-appropriation, of (parts of) the body through the use of “kits”. In the French author's discussion, the “odour kit” represented the means by which prospective workers in the perfume industry trained their noses to react to a variety of odoriferous elements. In this section I discuss how these theoretical assumptions enabled me to analyse the participants' identity negotiation of using capoeira and parkour as bodily, and spatial, “kits”. Drawing on the ethnographic material, I address how the participants' engagement with these kits provided them with the means and opportunities to adapt, navigate and situationally respond to the multifaceted and unfolding dynamics, interactions and power relations characterizing their daily lives in Turin's social and public spaces. Some of the descriptions that the participants gave of the embodied changes they experienced after engaging in capoeira and parkour (such as Bogdan's quote at the beginning of the section and the two quotes below), introduce meaningful insights to this discussion:

“Since I started doing capoeira I realized I gained this posture, this way of walking, relaxed, or else 'sly like a cat'... I think people read the way you walk or you look at them and react! I know this because, before

capoeira, I was so insecure that in unknown or confrontational situations I always attacked others so they could not see how scared I was” (Wendell, 18-years-old)

“It's also the way you walk after you start training parkour... before I started to train I had this way of walking... very static and rigid... now that I have been training parkour for some time people tell me 'you have springs in your steps!'”. (Hugo, 18 years old)

These accounts clearly addressed how participants related their practice of capoeira and parkour to a wide range of changes in the way they experienced their bodies, and themselves, which enabled them to modify their experiences and interactions with their social world. Ciprian, Wendell, Hugo and Marcos seemed to engage with capoeira and parkour as “kits” which enabled them to acquire an awareness of their bodies, movements and reactions, and to use them to engage and interact with the world around them. In Latour's discussion (2004), as well as in the participants' accounts, actors seemed to pass from a condition where a range of stimuli rained down on them, to a condition where they could distinguish the multiple and subtle “layers of difference” (Latour, 2004, p. 9), constituting either a range of fragrances and odoriferous stimuli, or the unfolding dynamics of social interactions and power relations in a specific context.

As suggested by Latour (2004) “to have a body *is to learn to be affected*, meaning ‘effectuated’, moved, put into motion by other entities, humans or nonhumans.” (p. 2, emphasis in the text). Therefore “to have a body” implies to be able to recognise how conditions and interactions *affect* our sense of self and (re)actions. According to Latour, not “having a body” means not being engaged in an embodied learning process that enables one to recognise how the web of (power) relationships and interactions we are all part of, have effects on our bodily, and social, (re)actions. The consequence of this lack of bodily awareness means for Latour not being able to speak about, and act, on these conditions and interactions, beyond automatic responses and “crude behaviours” (Latour, 2004, p. 3). The research participants provided meaningful examples of this argument when describing how the process

of learning capoeira and parkour in public spaces enabled them to recognise, evaluate and re-interpret interactions, as mentioned above, as well as settings and social environments and, thus being able to adapt to them:

“The first thing you note when you enter in a space yo have never been are the walls, the bars, the spaces where you can run, the height and width of the walls and bars [...], based on such elements you get an idea of what movement you can do in such space, what things you can try if you are there to train, so you can go in any place and you can always see it based on such principles” (Karim, 19 years old)

“When we choose a place to train [...] the floor must be decently uniform, but it doesn't matter the material, as different materials provide for different movements [...] also, you want to make sure you have 'emergency exits' nearby where you train and the principal points of access in sight as well, just to make sure you know at any point who's coming by and, in case, have a safe exit to take with no stress... you know, as the old *mestres* who would never sit giving their backs to the entrance door...” (Carlos, 20 years old)

Following Latour's (2004) discussion, the participants' accounts enabled an understanding of the body not as a natural essence, or substance, or as a repository of incommensurable subjective experiences. Rather, the participants' words and experiences enabled them to make tangible and understand the body as an *interface* (see also Saville, 2008; Pink, 2011) through which it was possible to address the multifaceted and contradictory components of their social lives, in the case of this study constituted by spaces, practices, power relations that enabled, influenced and “affected” participants' identity negotiation.

The above and previous accounts all showed how in the participants' bodily engagement with capoeira and parkour, the materiality of their body and of the spaces they moved in, their subjective experience, and spaces surrounding them became complementary. As such, the participants' engagement in both disciplines highlighted how their bodies *extended* in their continuous constitution to include the spaces they moved in, and the bodies they interacted with (Mialet, 2014).

Acknowledging this theoretical perspective and the participants' accounts enables a discussion addressing how the changes the actors' experienced in their bodies (both at a physiological level, i.e. breadth, muscles tone, etc. and a subjective level, i.e. awareness of emotional states and bodily reactions to those) and the spaces they crossed and lived in changed their sense of selves and place, as fundamental elements of identity (De Martini Ugolotti, 2015; see also Saville, 2008):

“Alex: Jumping, jumping I always fancied jumping...

Me: Is that because when you jump and make acrobatics people look at you, cheer and compliment you?

Alex: Not really, I mean, it helps (laughs), but it's more the way I feel while jumping, when I do this... it feels good... I don't know how to explain to you... I feel another person, I don't feel myself... don't know if for him is the same (indicates Samba)... I jump, it's a moment, I feel someone else... and when I land, suddenly I wake up!” (Alex, 18 years old, focus group excerpt) (Figure 16)



Figure 16. Jumping on a supra-elevated walking path in Parco Dora

The practices of capoeira and parkour, as well as the settings where the participants learnt and practiced, represented elements that influenced participants' bodily articulations and identity negotiation, at the same time enabling and constraining

them. As argued in chapter 1, several scholars and practitioners have acknowledged capoeira and parkour practices' openness and predisposition to be re-interpreted and appropriated by capoeiras and traceurs in various contexts according to personal values, meanings and needs. Moreover, practitioners and scholars alike highlighted the implicit ethical stance assumed by many capoeiras and traceurs who seem to often acknowledge the messiness and unfolding of power and social relations in their practice, and therefore recognise the need to situationally adapt to a "capricious environment" (Scott, 1998, p. 331). Most participants' and practitioners' perspectives on capoeira and parkour framed both practices as providing the means to situationally adapt to shifting and unfolding environments rather than assuming the existence, and the possibility of challenging and/or creating, solid and stable social structures (see also Delamont and Stephens, 2008; Fuggle, 2008 on capoeira; Saville, 2008, Atkinson, 2009 on parkour). Such ethical and almost philosophical stances were often reiterated by participants who quoted, or poached, standpoints uttered by the masters ("Go out everyday expecting the best, but ready for the worst" *Contra-Mestre* Guto Gomes), famous practitioners ("the objectives of parkour are 'escape' and 'reach': escaping from dangerous and hostile situations and reaching new levels both literal and metaphorical" David Belle) or even popular culture characters, such as Bruce Lee ("Be water my friend"), often mentioned by Marcos and other participants. Respondents identified and deeply related to these lay philosophical stances and standpoints, since they seemed to reflect and mirror the participants' life experiences and ambitions, and to favour their contested and ambivalent process of bodily, and spatial, re-appropriation. Building on these leads, the next section will address how this study's perspective differentiates, and possibly contributes to Latour's framing and understanding the body as a meaningful interface enabling me to analyse, articulate and make tangible operations, social practices and power relations in the context of this research.

4.4 AN OPEN-ENDED AND UNFOLDING JOURNEY: TIME, MEANING AND IDENTITY IN CAPOEIRA AND PARKOUR

“As I told you, it is kind of a progress of discovery that is still ongoing, as if everyday we spend training I unveil something new to and of myself, and I face another challenge.” (Marcos, 20 years old)

Latour's conceptualization of the body seemed to suggest that the process of bodily re-appropriation enabled by engaging with “kits”, such as the “odour kit”, could happen in a discrete time period (2004, p. 3). However, in the context of the research, the participants' often remarked how the process of bodily and self, re-appropriation established through capoeira and parkour was rather never-ending one:

“I don't think you can stop one day and say 'I know enough of capoeira, I know enough of parkour', I mean you can stop for a while, or for good, because of so many reasons, but not because you have got nothing more to learn [...] there are capoeira masters still playing and living capoeira in their 60s, 70s, even 90s, and even if there aren't traceurs who are that old, those who founded parkour didn't stop practicing even if they made so much money they could happily 'retire' [...] I think in the end what changes through time is what you learn and how you learn, what we can learn changes with time as much as we change” (Samba, 20 years old)

This open-ended dimension of time in participants' experience of capoeira and parkour related meaningfully to the perspective on identity as an ongoing process (rather than as an outcome of a process) that is addressed in this study. In a similar way, according to most participants being a capoeira and/or a traceur represented not a state, or a level of proficiency, to achieve, but more of an ongoing process of self-fashioning and (self)discovery. On a similar note, seen through Latour's perspective, actors' engagement with kits may look like a conscious and rational calculation enacted to achieve a specific aim (i.e. the training of noses is aimed at

being able to work in the perfume industry). However, the participants' motivations and aims to engage in capoeira and parkour were far less rational and calculated. The way they started both practices was quite incidental and mainly motivated by the lack of other meaningful leisure resources (see also De Martini Ugolotti, 2015), which eventually led to a progressively more conscious, and ever changing, engagement with both disciplines:

“At the beginning I wasn't interested at all at it, it was more like a duty to me, because Karim kept on calling me out to train, and I said 'ok let's do these things, jumps, kongs [Parkour movement]' with not much enthusiasm. However, as time went on I understood the utility it could have in my life and said to myself 'Well I have to, I have to make myself up' and from then it started to become a part of me.” (Marcos)

“I started because it was free, you didn't need any special equipment to train, and I wasn't doing anything most of the time” (Reda, 19 years old)

Therefore, the participants' initially choose to engage in capoeira and parkour not due to their history or outstanding features, but rather because of a lack of other leisure opportunities and of economic means (Horolets, 2012). Thus, only secondarily did the two practices come to represent meaningful tools of self discovery and improvement for the participants. Subsequently, my use of Latour's conceptualization of the body differed in some instances from the French author's framework. Rather than addressing a rational, motivated, discrete and “controlled” learning process, such as training prospective “noses” in the perfume industry, I applied Latour's body framework to the unplanned, but still reflexive, open-ended engagement of young men with capoeira and parkour in the unfolding context of early 21st century Turin's spaces. Latour elaborated his “proposition” (2004, p. 7) to question the supposedly incommensurable epistemological gap between the lived-in subjective embodiment and the “cold, objective” scientific knowledge, and stressed the crucial importance to address this distinction in order to critically respond to the contemporary nexus of (scientific) knowledge and (bio)power (p. 20). This study on the other hand used Latour's understanding of the body as an

interface and a conceptual tool to illuminate, explain and make tangible (through the body) the intertwined forces, processes and practices shaping and being shaped by the participants' practices. As the following sections will show, this reading of the body constituted an important element in the framework that enabled this study to illuminate and de-reify the mutually constituting embodied and spatial operations of power in the context of research, as well as to trace the relationships, processes and negotiations that constitute them.

4.5 NAVIGATING SHIFTING AND CONTINGENT CATEGORIES: REFLECTIONS ON ETHNICITY, RACE, INCLUSION/EXCLUSION, AND THE PERFORMATIVE BODY

“When I was 11-12 years old, my parents sent me sometimes to an oratory to play with other children. They thought it was the best and safest for me; instead that was probably the first place I felt what discrimination means. I can't say if it was because my skin was darker than theirs, maybe that was in part the reason, anyway the other kids kept me out of their games, they wouldn't talk to me, or if they did, they addressed me to make fun of me or provoke and insult me. Some other times some of them would just make it happen that I stumbled on some of them to start a fight with me, and they would always make sure to be 4 or 5; I received quite some punches in that period, but learnt as well to give them back, so that people wouldn't think it would be fun to repeat the same on me. Hence, in that period at the oratory you would see me often staying, or playing basketball alone... it was a bit sad, as a kid of that age usually loves to go out, socialize a bit, no? But everywhere was more of the same... My father wanted me to train football in a team as any *macho que se respeta* (man who is respected), but sincerely I hated it. People would be mad because I couldn't care less about winning the youth league: I wanted just to have fun! Even those with good intentions made me feel bad in some way, I remember one lady at the church who assumed I didn't speak a word of Italian 'You to like to play?' 'You to go to school?'. However in that period and after on I preferred to stay on my own, shut away. It was as if that amazing, attractive, modern place I saw when I came, and the people living here, were not for me, or didn't like me.” (Marcos)

Once more, Marcos' account provided insightful elements to interrogate the

influence that the materialisation of social, and political, categories (i.e. foreigner, immigrant, “clandestine”) framed and reproduced through the physicality of the body (Sayad, 2002) can have in the construction of children of immigrants' sense of self, self-worth, belonging and membership in their social worlds. As I concretely emplaced my body in the field with the participants, I aimed to reflect not only on the embodied experiences related to our common practice of capoeira and parkour. I also considered the manifold distinct ways in which the participants and I perceived, framed and interpreted our bodies in relation to capoeira and parkour *and* the social contexts where we enacted them. By doing so I aimed to reflect and self-reflexively compare my own bodily engagement in capoeira and parkour to both interrogate myself and the participants in our daily encounters from disparate conditions of power, privilege(s), life trajectories. Grasping differences, similarities and ambivalences in the participants' and my common active bodily engagement in the very contexts where most of respondents experienced daily exclusion and alienation, as well as experiences of “selective inclusion”, provided me with elements through which to examine the question of identity formation (Carrington, 2008, p. 424), across competing, contradictory articulations of race, gender, class, socialization enacted in Turin's social spaces.

Although we came from distant social and class positions and origins, the shared engagement in capoeira and parkour enabled the participants and me to engage in a dialogue that, starting from banal elements of our training sessions or daily lives, also tackled the different identifications made available to us within the contemporary discursive constructions of male, and immigrant, bodies. These exchanges happened generally in casual and informal moments in between training sessions and the density of insights seemed to be directly proportional to the spontaneity of the interaction. A few weeks into the field, I increasingly started to realize that to a certain extent my main identity marker in the participants' eyes was neither my social status, nor my race or national/ethnic origin. Rather, I embodied a shared identification as a fellow *capoeirista* and (tentative) *traceur*, built and

consolidated through a significant number of bruises, falls, injuries, strains and puddles of sweat. In the light of this identification, nationality, place of origin, and social status often became identity elements that were more or less willingly subverted and (mis)interpreted:

“We just went out Marcos parents' flat to train with him and his friend Leonardo, who is a fellow traceur, and one of the only two Italian friends Marcos has made in 12 years in Italy. It is the first time I met Leonardo and I just explained him the research project I am doing for an English University. In a break of our session Leonardo suddenly asks me where am I from. From the way he makes the question I understand he implies I have foreign origins, thus I try to displace his question by saying the name of the small town in Liguria [North West region of Italy] where I was born. Marcos starts laughing and Leonardo laughs too, then slightly embarrassed adds 'Oh, I thought you weren't Italian, you don't look Italian': Was it an acknowledgement of my 'exotic' presence, maybe related to my English university affiliation, amongst them? Or an automatic assumption regarding the lack of 'natives' within Marcos' circle of friends? Leonardo rushes to tell me his parents are from Sicily, that's why his skin tone and eyes are both dark, he adds. Suddenly national origin has disappeared from the map as an identifying reference, leaving place to more local, and bodily, markers. I tell him I do not have any particular attachment neither to my regional nor national origin, and reassure him that he is not the only one who finds difficult to guess where I am from; for people I happened to meet, and this seems to be an issue particularly in Italy, Romania, South America and Philippines are some of the most cited birthplaces amongst other more or less exotic suppositions. Marcos keeps on laughing and adds 'I was assuming too you were not Italian! The same happens every time to me, if I don't speak Spanish, people here think I am, and call me, Chinese: as for me, when I meet someone new, asking where (s)he is from is the last thing I think about, I'd rather know what they do and what they like!'" (Fieldnotes entry, May 3, 2014)

This episode, and few others like it happened during very first weeks of fieldwork and made me realize that my ethnic origin, or nationality, were not placed in the foreground in defining my *persona*, neither were object of scrutiny by most of respondents. The ones who actually seemed to care were basically the few “Italian natives” in the groups I attended. Marcos' words, both in his testimonio and field-notes excerpt suggested how for him the main discriminant to define a subject was

not where the person is from, but rather the persons practices, behaviour, and *tastes*.

Similar to what has been suggested by Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2011, p. 67) and Jimenez-Sedano (2012), Marcos and most of young men I met constructed identity, belonging and community through their common physical engagement, tastes and consumption practices as much as the ethnic, religious or national categories they inscribed themselves in or were applied on them. However, the participants' were not oblivious of their ethnic connotations and the ways their male immigrant bodies were perceived and framed in Turin's social spaces. They often ironically re-affirmed their awareness by engaging in swift-tongued, politically incorrect exchanges during the afternoon's long trainings:

“Abdelrazak and Ricardo comically 'argued' today, as the first told Ricardo to stop pretending to be Brazilian, as it's apparently clear he is Tunisian. 'Go to do what your supposed to Pedro, instead of pretending to be Brazilian to work in a restaurant, ask my *cousins* [in Arabic-French *argot* (slang) meaning, informants, or “business partners”] some stuff to deal!' [Abdelrazak is of Moroccan origin, one the ethnic communities most associated with street drug dealing in Turin]. Ricardo answered with some colourful images in Portuguese, for the delight of the rest of the group, including me, who either understands or explain the meaning of what Ricardo just said to the others, and assisted, deliciously amused by the graphic, but light-hearted exchange between the two. Abdelrazak didn't lose his wit to Ricardo's timely and swift tongued response 'C'mon! Stop pretending you are from Rio, I know you actually came from a *karyan* (slum), I know you come from Sidi-Moumen (famous slum in Casablanca, Morocco)' “ (Fieldnotes, June 16th, 2014) (Figure 17)



Figure 17. Discussing the latest events in a training break (Photo Samba)

Samba (laughing): “Police really likes you, isn't it Escrim? Every time you are around with him expect to spend some time in company of the guards [police]. As for me, it's pretty clear I'm from Mother Africa (laughs), and If I don't have the bad idea to wait for someone at a street corner they check my documents, and all goes smooth... but they never believe he's Brazilian [he refers to Escrim] , they always take him from a North African street drug dealer... they like to spend time talking with him, and triple checking his pockets and documents!” (Samba, 20 years old, and Escrim, 21 years old)

Karim to Marcos: “Now that you haven't school anymore, you'd better paint yourself white if you want to go for a job interview...” (Fieldnotes, July 6th, 2014)

These accounts ironically and irreverently show the much more serious and impactful dynamics of ethnic profiling that have structured immigrants' hierarchies of belonging (Back et al., 2012) in Turin's social spaces. The first two accounts reflected the distinct perspectives of the participants' acknowledgement of the profoundly arbitrary but, effective nature of these hierarchies in their daily lives. Thus, Abdelrazak's joke, though verbally referring to his friend, voiced his idea that the only feasible way to get a “decent” job, working in a restaurant, for a North African young man was to pretend to be Brazilian, which has a far more desirable and less “problematic” ethnic connotation in the public imagination. On the other hand, Escrim, a young men of Brazilian origin working as an apprentice in a mechanics workshop, was often framed as a North African street drug dealer and

therefore subjected to the surveilling gaze of security forces as soon he stepped out his home or workplace and moved within Turin's public spaces. Finally, Karim's ironic comment about Marcos reminded him about the predictive power of skin tone in determining one's working aspirations beyond the supposed “universality” of the educational context (Taliani, 2013). All the above mentioned bodily (mis)interpretations of racial and ethnic categories, within which my own embodiment was also involved across various interactions and contexts, showed the political and social construction of race in Turin's spaces. The participants' accounts therefore highlighted a further layer of complexity in addressing the issue of identity in the context of research, since they contrasted the apparently uniform images usually applied to immigrants in the media and policy makers' discourses. The participants' accounts highlighted the situational ethnic, social, and moral categories applied to participants' immigrant bodies, and showed the shifting and unwarranted nature of ethnicity in defining actors' social positioning in various social environments (i.e. school, work, the streets) (Hall, 1996b, p. 444), and sometimes even within the same social space according to diverse actors. Subsequently, the construction of hierarchies of belonging (Back et al. 2012) proved not to be static in the research context, since the contradictory and arbitrary ethnic categories applied to individuals' bodies in various social contexts continuously changed the range of opportunities, dangers and interactions participants' might have in their daily navigation of Turin's social spaces. The participants were well aware of the shifting social, and ethnic, categories applied to them in changing territories and moments (Brown, 2011, 2014) within the urban landscape. They opportunistically used capoeira and parkour to implicitly contest and displace the stereotypical images and objectified nature of male immigrant bodies applied on them in various contexts (a process of negotiation which this research might unexpectedly have enhanced, as you can read below):

“I'm training with the boys at the walls behind Mc Donald, while Andrea [one of the two video-makers involved in the participatory video-documentary] is recording the session with Cosmin [a research participant]. Everything appears to look quite professional, and at some

point a young couple with a small child stops to watch us for few minutes; they seem very impressed by the guys moves and the scene in general. When they leave I am quite close to them (trying to figure out a way to approach them and make a few questions) and I hear her saying to him 'These guys must be very good at it, see? They have people filming them!' “ (Fieldnotes, May 25th, 2014)

“It’s funny, you know, because the same mothers who would hold their bags if they see me walking on the streets with my friends, when I train in public parks come to ask me if I can give capoeira classes to their children!” (Joseph, 20 years old)

According to Joseph's words it was evident that the participants were often well aware that the social categories applied to them in various contexts depended on a wide range of distinct factors, including the kind of practices they engaged with in social spaces, as well as who was there and where the interactions took place (Lindegaard 2009, p. 57). These factors all influenced how the participants were contingently and intersubjectively positioned by various actors in several contexts. The respondents' “judicious opportunism” (Johnson-Hanks, 2005) often enabled them to play with the ambivalent characteristics of capoeira and parkour to navigate these shifting categorizations:

“So, what happens often while we are training is that people come and harass us, they can be groups of people of our age that don't like us staying there, some other times adults or elders yelling at us to get a job and the such... if they don't come first hand to yell at us, they call the cops, so it can happen that when the cops come, as we don't want to spend the whole afternoon with them, we just go, a couple of *kongs* and *rolls* [parkour movements] and we are away. The same happens all the times that groups of people physically attack us, we just run away, and leave them behind running with their trousers at their knees [reference to a common fashion in Turin/Italy amongst young men to wear tight trousers under the crotch] (laughs). I never used capoeira, or anything else, to fight in one of these cases, because I think if there's a chance to just go away, better go, but I feel confident that if I had to, because maybe someone cannot run away with us, I would be able to defend myself well [...] Other times people are more positive, they ask what we do, shoot photos or videos while we do a *roda* or train, they compliment us... so when the police comes or somebody starts to harass us, we are like 'wait a moment, we are not doing anything wrong, see

the people enjoying?', that does not mean that maybe in the end we won't have to move, but it helps keeping a more decent level of discussion, it makes less likely that we get harassed, and hopefully helps to make us look different in people's eyes" (Lazer, 21 years old)

In this long and detailed excerpt, Lazer illustrated and synthesized some of the negotiation and stakes implied in the participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour. His account showed how, by representing themselves, and possibly being recognized, as traceurs or capoeiras, participants engaged in pleasurable, and free, leisure practices, while at the same time attempting to displace their relationships with the bystanders and other users of space, which were often framed in terms of suspicion, or open hostility towards their (migrant) bodies. However, as Lazer showed, at any moment the definition of territory (and "rules" attached) where they practiced could change according to the actors or groups present in the space (Brown, 2014). Lazer described some of the most common possibilities the participants could face in changing territories, and showed how their use of capoeira and parkour also implied the possibility of being able to respond and navigate unfolding occurrences to avoid harms and, when possible, maximize benefits (Vigh, 2009). This account captured the agentic capacity of participants in negotiating various *roles* within unfolding interactions, without losing the sense of self-worth and value provided by their identification as *capoeiras* and/or *traceurs*. Acknowledging the dynamic, shifting nature of the territories characterizing the participants' daily social environments, as well as participants' use of their performative bodies enabled therefore to comprehend the contingent and unfolding constituencies characterizing participants identity negotiation in Turin's public spaces. In this context, both capoeira and parkour, as bodily practices developed by people who historically had little power or the means to demarcate spaces of their own in their living environments, seemed to invite and be used by participants to displace, reorganize and reposition the shifting articulations of race/body/marginality influencing their aspirations, trajectories and daily lives (Hall, 1996b; Robitaille, 2013, p. 231).

These practices rarely enabled participants to abolish or change the structural conditions or the everyday harassment and discrimination that shaped their lives. Rather, they provided only situational and temporary negotiations. Nevertheless, the respondents seemed to commit to capoeira and parkour as practices “imbued with the flexibility and pre-adaptation necessary for unpredictable change” (Bateson, 1972 in Vigh, 2009, p. 425), where unpredictable change was represented by the shifting ethnic and social categories that generally positioned participants at the bottom of the social ladder across a span of diverse social interactions and territories.

Such negotiation and displacement of arbitrary ethnic and moral categories however, seldom appeared to represent one of the main objectives, or concerns, regarding the participants involvement with both disciplines. As the accounts in this section showed, the participants' apparently engaged with such constant elements of their daily lives with politically incorrect irony and a kind of endurance that did not suggest simply a passive acknowledgement of the state of things:

“Prejudices, discriminations... they slip on me as water now [he makes the gesture with his hand], because if I had to become angry and resentful every time they happen, I would end up crazy [...] I don't pay too much attention to the things said by people I'll probably meet only once in my life, I have more important things to focus on” (Marcos)

Marcos', as well as many participants', navigation of shifting and arbitrary social categories in daily life contexts represented only one aspect of his (and their) embodied and spatial negotiation; as the relationship with participants got more close, other stringent issues and negotiations emerged. The participants' seemed to negotiate through capoeira and parkour not only how their bodies were categorized and positioned by others in their daily social settings. They seemed to engage and use both practices also to position themselves within and across different national, cultural and moral affiliations in their daily lives.

4.6 “FEELING SUSPENDED IN THE AIR”: CHILDREN OF MIGRATION IDENTITY INTERROGATIVES AND (UNEXPECTED) RESPONSES

“I don't feel so attached to being Peruvian... I mean, I do, but that doesn't define me completely. Neither I can say I feel Italian, I have been raised here, I spent most of my childhood and adolescence here, I even like it here, but I don't feel Italian [...] it is like I carry a piece of many things, but it's hard to fit all these pieces together. At the end of the day, I see myself as someone who tries to put many things together, because you can learn a lot from everything, isn't it?” (Marcos)

“[Karim about his parents] We are already two different generations, in addition living in a completely different place from where my parents were brought up [...] when we came here and while me and my sisters grew up there were two completely different cultures clashing everyday, and we were in the middle of both! My mother sometimes said she regretted bringing us here, she says she thought we would grow up as she did, but we didn't [...] I know my parents love and take care of us, but you feel it every time... this tension, and the end of any problem or discussion you'll always hear 'Ah, if they grew up in Morocco that wouldn't have happened!' ” (Karim, interview, 23rd April 2015)

The participants' accounts evoked a much more complicated and less optimistic manifestation of the idea of third-space/hybridity than implied in Bhabha's definition of a dynamic in-between space imbued with traces, ambiguities and contradictions and fashioning something different and unexpected (1994). In many participants' voices, like Karim's, emerged the *cleavages* (Yahyaoui, 2002) that were created within families and within individuals born and/or brought up in different cultural and moral contexts from their parents' origins. Yahyaoui (2002), who worked as a psychotherapist with immigrant families in France, observed the difficulties immigrant parents often faced when raising their children in a country of migration. Such difficulties were generally exemplified by a feeling of growing distance of their parental educative models from the affective/socializing needs of their children, interiorized and embodied in daily school and playground interactions with teachers, pedagogues and peers. Fathers and mothers often declared they did not possess the capacity to understand and raise their children,

who became considered by their parents as sons and daughters of the host country, thus as “foreign children” (Yahyaoui, 2002, p.114) in their own families. Participants' often gave a complementary perspective to the one described by Yahyaoui. In their accounts participants ambivalently recognised the opportunities provided by growing up in Italy, not just in terms of possibilities for social mobility, but also in terms of opening one's perspectives. On the other hand, this feeling of self-enrichment and possibility was balanced by the awareness of a condition of marginalisation and estrangement, not only in regard to the host society, but also to the cultural/moral worlds they supposedly belonged to:

“For me coming to Italy was good at the beginning, I was happy to come, not because I didn't like where I lived, but I wanted to know the world outside my country. If I stayed in Romania where I lived, probably I'd think the way we did things there, the way I grew up, was the only right way, while here I had the chance to confront myself with so many things which helped to open my mind, everything was very good to me, no matter how hard it was... but after 3 years here, I started to get depressed, alone, I didn't feel yet here, but I wasn't Romanian anymore, do you get what I mean? It felt like I was suspended in air. Sometimes it still feels like that” (Razvan, 20 years old, interview, 2nd July 2014)

“So I am Moroccan, and I'm also Italian on paper. I was practically born in Italy and I lived here all my life, but I wouldn't say I feel Italian, for example I have only one Italian friend... on the other hand I feel culturally attached to Morocco, for example regarding religion, but I don't feel as well like the 'average Moroccan man'... if there was a dinner with only Moroccan youth I'd go there and I wouldn't exactly know what to say and what to do, the same if at the same table there were only Italian youth, I'd sit there without exactly knowing what to do...” (Karim, interview, 4th September 2014)

Following these accounts, it is possible to understand the challenges that immigrant families faced while adjusting to more than a new language and a subordinate, marginal social positioning. Razvan' and Karim's voices showed how participants also had to negotiate a complex, embodied range of contrasting cultural and moral references which influenced their ambitions, desires and sense of self. As suggested by Parker and Song (2009), the contemporary recrudescence of renewed

nationalism, “immigrants' invasion” moral panic, and post 9/11 clash-of-civilisation discourses, undermined children of immigrants' potential to inhabit, and create, spaces of social inclusion and citizenship, intercultural encounter and *metisage* (cultural mix) in Italian, and European, societies. The concept of super-diversity was recently introduced to frame immigrants' experience not just in cultural terms and to explore difference not just between, but also within ethnic groups, in order to address some of the conditions mentioned in this discussion (i.e. in-group divisions, sometimes framed generationally, or related to different legal statuses within a community, or even within the same household). By questioning the ontology of ethnic, and cultural categories (Berg and Sigona 2013) super-diversity does not consider participants' feelings of double estrangement towards both Italy and their country of origin, which was often rooted and framed in terms of ambivalent ethnic, religious, cultural or transnational bonds. Berg and Sigona (2013) also warned about the dangerous resonance of a dominant super-diversity discourse that reduces the variety of immigrants and minorities social trajectories to individualised paths, thereby undermining social and structural ties, with a contemporary neoliberal ethos shifting responsibilities from the state to the individual (p. 353).

Apart from navigating the shifting and arbitrary social and ethnic categories applied to immigrants and their children in public spaces, the participants also engaged in a concrete, complex, and hard-to-express process of negotiation of more or less distant and conflicting cultural, religious, moral affiliations, desires, and ambitions in the everyday. In addressing this complex negotiation, exploring the participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour guided this discussion to the *unexpected* results of the participants' identity negotiation in the research context.

4.7 “THE BRIDGE ISN'T MADE WITH BRICKS FROM ANY OF THE TWO SIDES”: THE DIASPORIC COSMOPOLITAN IMAGINARIES OF CAPOEIRA AND PARKOUR

“Most of the people you see training here, they do it because they feel isolated, you know, socially, but also within their own families”
(Karim)

The participants' engagement in capoeira and parkour seemed to follow an obstinate desire to make their bodies, and the spaces where they lived and crossed daily into contested tools of self-constitution, socialization and belonging. The participants' use of both disciplines did not correspond to the traditional reading of immigrants' practices, usually framed in terms of identity politics, exclusionary ethnic affiliations or assimilationist aspirations (Saada, 2000; Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2011; Glick Schiller, 2012). Nor were their activities completely explained by perspectives of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) or super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007, 2012). Although rarely explicitly expressed through words, the participants practices and bodies showed how in their contested and situational negotiations respondents were not resolving their identity quest simply by combining their desires of belonging and identification between country of origin and adoption. Rather, to guide their processes of self-formation and socialization, the participants often referenced to a complex repertoire of transnational and popular histories, antagonisms, culture(s) and imaginaries (Parker and Song 2009):

“Both when I train capoeira and parkour, I try to apply Bruce Lee's saying 'be water my friend', I think it fits well what I look in both disciplines, and, I guess, in life. You know water can adapt to every form and shape and still find its way to flow, but the same time it gives shape to the spaces it crosses, it's like the Brazilian saying my *Mestre Guto* repeats so often: *agua mole, pedra dura, tanto bate até que fura* (water is soft, stone is hard, water taps insomuch as it punches)”
(Marcos)

“Gaza Parkour Team [a group of traceurs based in the Gaza Strip,

Palestine] you know, at the same time I feel very close and inspired as well by what they do. They pass through so much heavy stuff, the occupation, war, but still manage to, I don't know, enjoy life despite everything, like everyone should do [...] I'd like to go to visit them in Gaza one day" (Abdelrazak)

As these accounts showed, the participants' were able to draw from various transnational popular narratives and experiences to make sense of and inform their daily practices and negotiations through capoeira and parkour. Having to address the "doubleness of similarity and difference" (Hall, 1990, p. 227) that marked their relationship with most social environments and groups, the participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour enabled them to play with *the instability, permanent unsettlement, and lack of any final resolution* (p. 228) that characterized their sense of self. The participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour reflected, enabled and shaped their desire and ambitions to meet, socialize and build domains of commonality and sociabilities with actors from other social classes and groups sharing same interests and (consumption) affinities:

"Yes, maybe because we came from four different worlds, in terms of culture, and religion as well: me from Peru, Karim, from Morocco, Dragan from Romania, and Loris, his parents are from South Italy, so they are like foreigners as well here (they laugh)! Four worlds that basically clashed together every time we met, and the first times we met to train there were plenty of 'divergences' that became arguments, and so on... what kept us together, what made us know each other and find point in common beyond our differences was training, working at the same movements, eventually helping or encouraging each other to close a movement, a trick, or to work on an ability we have... at the end we liked the same things, and had nothing else to do (laughs)" (Marcos)

To some extent, the participants' engagement with peers from different communities was neither planned, nor easily achieved. Nevertheless the common practice of capoeira and parkour seemed to facilitate this process. The participants' capacity to construct meaningful domains of commonality (Glick Schiller, 2011, 2012, 2015) by engaging with elements and actors sharing practices and interests

across several communities, suggested the expression of a specific *cosmopolitan sensibility*. Since the beginning of this century, several authors (Kurasawa, 2004; Appaduraij, 2011; Glick Schiller et al., 2011; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Glick Schiller, 2015) have challenged dominant perspectives about how cosmopolitanism is lived, and *whose cosmopolitanism* is noted (Glick Schiller, 2015). These emerging perspectives challenged dominant assumptions that have attributed cosmopolitanism to a privileged mobile elite with a “taste for the other” (Hannerz, 1996, p. 103) and open to accept of “the otherness of the other” (Beck, 2002, p. 18). The image of a “cosmopolitanism from below” was used by Kurasawa (2004) and Appaduraij (2011) to illuminate forms of cosmopolitanism generated mainly through politically oriented forms of activism among the world's poorest populations (i.e. The Chiapas Zapatist movement, antiglobalization coalitions, and Mumbai slum dwellers unions) and explicitly aimed to the construction of a “politics of hope” (Appaduraij, 2011, p. 32). On the other hand, Glick Schiller and colleagues (2011, 2015) aimed to highlight the everyday life sociabilities and domains of the commonalities of urban dwellers who find themselves displaced not only through migration but also through the neoliberal structural adjustment of the global economy and urban spaces (such as the increasing numbers of “native” urban poor) through the concept of *diasporic cosmopolitanism* (Glick Schiller, 2015; see also Brah, 1996, p. 181).

Diasporic cosmopolitanism can be referred to as “the sociabilities formed around shared practices, outlooks, aspirations and sensibilities, however partial, temporary, or inconclusive, that emerge from and link people simultaneously to those similarly displaced and to locally and transnationally emplaced social relationships.” (Glick-Schiller, 2015, p. 105). This conceptual approach addresses issues of migration and identity in contemporary cities and seems to reflect what the participants expressed in the quotes above, and also the identity framework used in this study to address the participants' negotiations enacted through capoeira and parkour. Hall's (1990), Bhabha's (1994), Gilroy's (2004), and Soja's (1996), invitations to (re)present

identity and the “cultural play” beyond a simple binary opposition past/present, them/us (Hall, 1990, p. 228), can be traced in the concept of diasporic cosmopolitanism. As such, diasporic cosmopolitanism reframes boundaries not as mutually excluding categories, but rather as “differential points along a sliding scale” (Hall, 1990, p. 228). The use of diasporic cosmopolitanism to discuss participants' negotiations allows therefore to tangibly address identity “as a construction always in process” (Hall, 1996a, p. 6) through the temporary, situational and un-guaranteed negotiation that the participants enacted by engaging with capoeira and parkour. In addition to re-underlining “the identities and relationalities that may arise from multiple displacements” (Brah, 1996, p. 181), the perspective provided by the concept of diasporic cosmopolitanism relates the participants' identity negotiations to the unequal and contradictory outcomes produced by neoliberal restructuring of urban space and governance (Glick Schiller, 2012, p. 528), which I address in more detail in the next chapter. The concept of diaspora changes from addressing an “imaginary coherent” (Hall, 1990, p. 224), a specific common history, or a route (Gilroy, 1991), to a conceptual category that can be inhabited not only by those who have migrated and their descendants. It also equally applies to those who are constructed and represented as indigenous (Brah, 1996), but are nevertheless displaced by contemporary processes of urban, economic and social restructuring. By suggesting that a cosmopolitan sensibility and the maintenance of ethnic/national ties or religious commitments and identities can occur simultaneously in the daily activities and outlook of (im)mobile people, the perspective of diasporic cosmopolitanism hence offers an image of (children of) immigrants as possibly “standing in many circles but with common grounds” (Glick Schiller et al. 2011, p. 401):

“We never discussed amongst us the sense of what we do when we practice capoeira and parkour, we just do it... But now that we have been talking for a while about this I can see that from the very beginning I did this, I was shaping myself and the place I lived in, you know, trying to combine so many things that apparently just punch their faces off [...] I can see it was not just me, I can see it from the way the others talk about it, we all did something very similar only

from different points” (Karim, focus group, January 2015).

“Romania, Italy... yes, I mean I am trying to make one out of two, one that goes well for both, that can be a bridge between both... just, the bridge isn't made with bricks from any of the two sides” (Cosmin, interview, 12 September 2014)

The image of a subaltern, diasporic cosmopolitanism meaningfully addressed the participants' negotiation of social positioning and identity, a process that was not enacted by respondents with the conscious aim to address such issues, but rather one that some became more aware of towards the end of the research process, as argued by Karim. While the authors who have proposed diasporic cosmopolitanism aimed to highlight emerging political possibilities in a context of globe-spanning economic and political restructuring (Glick Schiller, 2015), I contend that for this study, the exploration of the transformative possibilities implied by participants' practices needs to be more cautious. As addressed in chapter 2, the characteristics of the observed practices remove them from clear-cut readings as practices of political resistance/change or of reproduction of commodified practices (see also Wheaton, 2010). These elements are present in participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour, and I contend the emergence of one aspect or the other can be appreciated mainly in relation to the contexts where the participants' practiced, and by linking these contexts to the established prerogatives of immigrants (and their children) in Italian society.

Building on these leads, and similar to what Borden (2001) has argued, although concerned with possibilities of social change this study could not testify changes in participants' material conditions or social positioning, but only in the experience of such conditions (p. 2). Drawing on Moyer (2005), I contend that many scholars of transnational and diasporic popular culture are concerned with the possibilities of political transformation. However, by focusing on the latter it is often missed that issues of aesthetics, pleasure, and *desire* (desire to embody valorised, and commodified, bodily images, desire of socialization and leisure, desire to be[come])

someone else than ascribed social categories) are also at stake in the local appropriation of transnational practices and the related cosmopolitan sensibilities.

Furthermore, although a sense of global consumption flows can provide an idea of a common cause motivating young people's embracing of transnational popular practices (usually identified with "the cultural power of the centre over the periphery" [Hannerz, 1997, p. 168]), the specific reasons for the diffusion, and *use*, of global practices in specific contexts are *intensely local* (Moyer, 2005, p. 36). Unpacking and discussing the local re-appropriations of transnational popular practices, such as capoeira and parkour, can be used to ferret out contextual manifestations of inequality (Moyer, 2005). On the one hand, capoeira and parkour's diasporic cosmopolitan dimension enabled the participants to escape from the internal power relations and positioning experienced within their communities of origin without breaking away from them. This cosmopolitan dimension reflected and implied implicit politics of (self)representation that situationally displaced the body/race/marginality nexus through which the participants daily lives, ambitions and trajectories were constrained and enabled in Turin's public spaces. While an identification mainly based on ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language, culture, of a common history or a homeland in the construction of subjectivity and identity (Hall, 1996b, p. 447), the analysis of the participants' identity negotiations enacted through capoeira and parkour seemed to recognize and add elements of *self-fashioning*, *desire* and *pleasure*. These elements confirm how in the research context, the participants' identities were positionally and contingently negotiated through bodily cultural forms and cosmopolitan sensibilities enabling both a rootedness and openness, and allowing for the possibility to imagine social trajectories and identifications, "not in the past to be found, but in the future to be constructed" (Hall 1995, p. 14).

It can be argued that capoeira and parkour represented sites for working through new terms of engagement between the descendants of recent migrants, the spaces

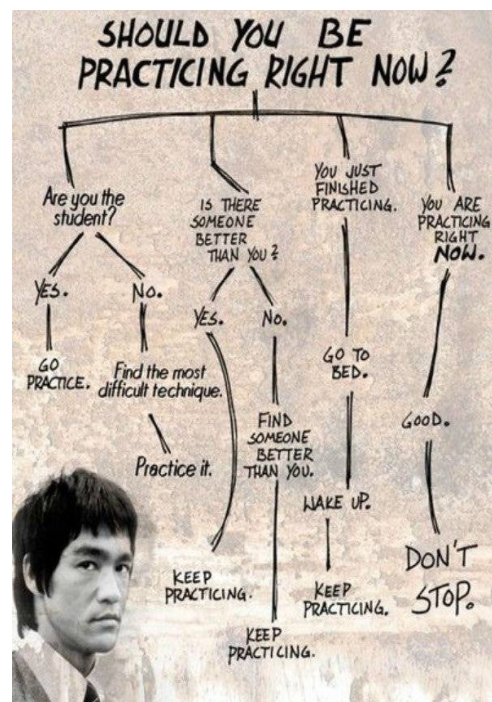
of desire in which they have grown up, and the transnational practices with which they showed their affinity (Parker and Song, 2009, p. 586). I contend that the analysis of participants' identity negotiations enacted through their engagement with capoeira and parkour can provide meaningful insights and possible indications on how issues like identity, citizenship, belonging and multiculturalism are lived and negotiated daily by urban residents from different ethnic, social, religious, backgrounds in contemporary cities. Although it was not possible to envisage a socially transformative element in the participants' negotiations, this does not exclude the possibility that the ongoing development of the participants' engagements with capoeira, parkour and Turin's public life/polity might provide elements to act on some of the conditions they experienced in their daily lives. During the fieldwork some participants, including Marcos, created contacts with various grass-root organizations and community agencies. The participants are thus now creating newer articulations for their practices, together with apparent opportunities of social recognition and mobility. As I write these pages, their connections and experiences are maturing and bringing further developments, which I will try to include and address more specifically as this study unfolds, although they would need dedicated research project to be explored in details.

A meaningful discussion of the possibilities implied by participants' negotiations must acknowledge the elements of the reproduction of power relations and dominant discourses embedded in participants' use of capoeira and parkour. This reflection is presented in the last section of this chapter, by focusing on a critical discussion of the “hybrid masculinities” (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014) and gender relationship embodied and reproduced in participants' bodily and spatial negotiations.

4.8 RACE, GENDER AND IDENTITY: INITIAL REFLECTIONS ON CAPOEIRA, PARKOUR AND MASCULINITY

“Well, I tried to go to clubs with my cousins, as one of them is kind of a 'big guy' in some South American clubs. So, they would dress me up and make my hair because supposedly the way I dress and comb myself I am not 'macho' enough to go to a club and hit on girls, then the night would end with me sitting on a chair looking around and my cousins and their friends chasing any girl present and crazy drunk... That was boring!” (Marcos)

“A big inspiration in all my capoeira and parkour training is Bruce Lee [...]. More than anything I liked Bruce Lee because he was very self-confident, you know? He was a very determined person who did not let others tell him what he was supposed to be and to do, everything he did, even the movies, were occasions for self-development for him, opportunities to challenge himself and prove his worth.” (Marcos) (Figures 16-17)



Figures 18-19. Bruce Lee images selected by Marcos.

As discussed earlier by quoting Giardina and Newman (2011b, p. 182) in the last chapter, this study aims to explore how participants could reclaim their bodies

through their engagement with capoeira and parkour, but also to illuminate how this negotiation happened in conditions not of their choosing. Understanding the participants' identity negotiations enacted through capoeira and parkour required also articulating their experience, and consumption, of both practices with the discursive construction of masculinity, sexual normativities and gender relations in the research context. The last section of this chapter begins to explore the implicit power and gender relationship implied in the participants use of capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces with the intention to provide a more extended analysis on the topic in future research. In doing so, I reflecting not only on the participants' performances of masculinity, but also refer to my own corporeal, gendered and gendered presence in the field.

As shown in the above-mentioned quotes, on several occasions Marcos was openly critical of the hypersexualised and chauvinist masculinities embodied by some of his peers, and clearly used elements of transnational popular culture as a symbolic resource (Schneider, 2005) to negotiate his performance of (racialized) masculinity in his daily life. Similarly, and to a certain extent to my surprise, for many of participants, the embodiment of maleness went beyond the canons of “traditional”, mainstream and hetero-normative masculinity. During training sessions it was evident that although there was pleasure coming from the pursuit of a flexible, reactive, to a certain degree muscular body, the participants' bodies were not thoroughly shown off during practices in public spaces (i.e. through training shirtless “at the first occasion”), or by posting images of their muscular bodies on social networks. Quite surprisingly for groups of young men for whom muscular power, daring exchanges of kicks, risky leaps and flips were a daily routine, the participants' gendered performances were distant from the loud, aggressive and emotionally detached images described by Borden (2001) or Thorpe (2010) of male skateboarders and snowboarders. Bodily intimacy between co-practitioners was often significant as I witnessed young men taking care of each others' injuries, hugging affectionately to celebrate the success of an elaborate movement or of an

energetic *roda*, or shamelessly checking each other muscles, nipples and buttocks, during training sessions. However, recent studies on masculinity (Owen, 2014, McCormack & Anderson, 2010; McCormack, 2011, Shugart, 2008) have observed that young men increasingly engage in “gay”, “feminine”, or “camp” behaviours as a form of a display of secure and confident heterosexuality. Acknowledging these insights, it was clear in several moments in the field that the embodiment of non-aggressive and apparently inclusive performances of masculinity did not mean overcoming gendered power relations or heterosexual normativity.

This was demonstrated, for example, by the ancillary and inactive position that young women generally took when they joined the groups I attended in public spaces. It was also apparent that the implicit “justification” of the women's presence in such spaces was mainly to watch their brothers' and (boy)friends' training. When asked to express their opinion about this evident gender differentiation between male and females engaging with their bodies and public spaces, the participants' provided a variety of responses. Marcos used the example of his sister and himself to discuss the distinct “requirements” that boys and girls have at home and in society. He recognized that it would be “normal” for him to be physically active and spend a lot of time training outside and to be assertive and independent, while his sister's requirements were to be “pretty and polite”, invest more in education, and frequent more closed spaces (home, university, libraries). Karim, who lived with two sisters added to Marcos' point:

“I guess in other countries, let's say North Europe, it may be different, I watched some videos from Germany, Russia, Ukraine with a lot of girls jumping, bruising their knees... but this is maybe because in these countries if you see a girl working out somewhere outside, as a man passing there, even if you think she's hot, you don't even get close to her, not because you're scared she's gonna kick your ass, but because she's training, she's busy, that's it! Instead here, if you see a woman working out somewhere outside, you say, 'wow she's hot!', you go there and start annoying her, so no girl feels at ease training in a public space, especially let's say early morning or night when few people are around, you know what I mean? They think 'no way, don't wanna an

asshole come to annoy me every two seconds!' [...] on the other hand you know that almost everywhere we go we get harassed as well, we get threatened and sometimes assaulted, so that we have to do parkour for our own safety, but we continue training anyway... I guess though that for them must be harder, it must feel even less safe" (Karim).

From another perspective Dragan and Cosmin argued:

"Probably it's because they see these sports as physically quite brutal, a bit violent, you risk to hurt yourself, therefore they think these sports are more fit for a man, and maybe dance is more fit for a woman. But there's plenty of men dancing as well... it's really in girls' mentality, none of us here ever told any girl 'no can't join us because you are a girl', thus it's their choice, it's a way of thinking" (Dragan)

"We offered many times to teach some moves to the girls who came along with us, they didn't want to, that's it" (Cosmin, 20 years old).

Dragan's comments on men engaging without hesitation in a perceived "fit-for-women" activity (dance), and on women whose "mentality" apparently hinders them from engaging in risky, active, and possibly violent, male activities echoed Bordo's (1999) claim of a *colonization of femininity* by young (homo- and hetero-sexual) men. According to Bordo (1999), men's colonization of femininity works to obscure, or more worryingly perpetuate, current impositions on women's bodies instead of transgressing gender roles.

More recently, contributions by Bridges and Pascoe (2014) and de Boise (2014) have aimed to "make sense of the contemporary transformations in masculinity" (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014, p. 246), by critically addressing emerging "hybrid" (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014), and "inclusive" (de Boise, 2014) forms of masculinity. The authors have highlighted the problematic implications of forms of maleness that symbolically distance men from homophobic and chauvinist virility, but can nevertheless "fortify existing social and symbolic boundaries in ways that often work to conceal system of power and inequality in historically new ways" (p. 246). Further contributions in sporting contexts have provided insightful elements to the

above arguments. Dashper's (2012a, 2012b) ethnography of equestrians in UK (quite unique since it is a gender-integrated sport where men and women both participate/compete together), showed that men in equestrian sports valued the achievements of individual female riders. However, Dashper cautioned that whilst female riders were accepted on a more practical level (i.e. success in competitions), masculinity was nevertheless still constructed as dominant and in opposition to a "subordinate feminine Other" (2012a, p. 11).

Similarly, Michael's (2014) study of college wrestlers in USA documented that gay men were accepted in teams, and highlighted the diminished levels of homophobia amongst heterosexual male wrestlers. Yet this form of inclusive masculinity coexisted with the devaluing of femininity and a commitment to heteronormativity, as exemplified by the athletes' offended reactions to the characterization of wrestling as a "gay sport".

These contributions have shown that while emerging masculine identities and performances may blur gendered social and symbolic boundaries, they are not necessarily undermining systems of dominance and gendered power relations, or normative heterosexuality in a fundamental way (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014, p. 248). The above mentioned insights were reflected by participants' comments on gender relations in the field. On the one hand, Dragan and Cosmin's accounts seemed to voice a perspective that naturalized women's positions and conduct in Turin public spaces. On the other hand, Marcos and Karim offered more sensitive reflections that acknowledged, and implicitly critiqued, the various symbolic and social "requirements" available to young men and women in relation to their bodies and presence in public spaces. Although some participants seemed to recognize the normative expectations placed upon young men and women in their daily life experiences, their "subversive" narratives did not imply a self-reflexive engagement with their role and participation in the reproduction of normalized gender relations (see also Francombe, 2014 for similar accounts on young girls and

femininity). Therefore it could be argued, following Messner (1993) that forms of apparently inclusive, or hybrid masculinities, as embodied by most of participants, did not challenge established gendered relationships in the context (p. 732) despite representing different *styles* of masculinity. As acknowledged by Bridges and Pascoe (2014) and De Boise (2014), studies on hybrid or inclusive masculinities fundamentally only addressed masculine manifestations of White, privileged, young men, and often left the embodiment of masculinity of non-white, working class, immigrant men unaddressed, or implicitly ascribed to macho and chauvinist features. Perspectives on hybrid or inclusive masculinities alone therefore cannot not provide me elements to address how the participants' practices articulated their negotiations and performances of gender *and* race/ethnicity:

“Another thing my inspiration to Bruce Lee pushes me to is to be true with myself... I mean so many people of my age around spend their time discussing rumours and gossips about what happened here, there 'who done [had sex with] whom, who beat this or the other guy, this other fella is wicked, he's a bad-ass, this other is a pussy'. I want to stay away from it and make my own mind and life out of this crap, Bruce Lee was a guy you didn't want to mess with, but he never made a fuss of it” (Marcos)

“Have I ever told you of the first time I met Guto [their capoeira master]? Me and Karim walked in the community project hall where the capoeira class was, imagining to meet this tall, big, black man leading the session, and who we see is this thin, *whitish*, boy leading the warm up... Me and Karim looked each other and both thought 'whaaat?!' We were a bit disappointed, that was not at all what we expected, however few minutes after Guto arrived, and he didn't disappoint us (laughs)” (Marcos, emphasis added) (Figures 20-21)



Figures 20-21. Common representations of capoeira and (racialized) masculinity: Figure 18 (left), the capoeira character “Eddy Gordo” from the video-game Tekken, Figure 19 (right) performance for tourists at Terreiro De Jesus, Salvador, Brazil.

Marcos' quite evident turn to the features of Bruce Lee and his Afro-Brazilian capoeira master as alternative masculine references to his own racialized masculinity, showed an example of the ambivalent and complex relationship between the performance and embodiment of masculinity, race/ethnicity, identity, and gender relations enacted by many participants.

In "Gender Trouble" (1990) Judith Butler introduced her famous notion of gender as performance and the relationship between identity and performativity. Using the example of drag, Butler argued that *gender is always a doing* (1990, p. 25) and, that it could be approached in a similar fashion to makeup in the sense of being a construction rather than an essential part of one's being. In Butler's reading, drag represented a subversive practice openly challenging and exposing essentialist and exclusionist reading of identity and gender politics. However, keeping this metaphor of makeup in mind, the author acknowledged that the nets of (power) relations in which we are immersed influence the cosmetic options that are available to us. In Butler's words, “there is only a taking up of the tools where they lie, where the very ‘taking up’ is enabled by the tool lying there” (p. 145). Critical accounts on Butler's analysis of drag argued that drag performances were defined primarily by male mastery of the depiction of highly selective feminine identities which reflected persistent hierarchies of desire and desirability (bell hooks, 1996).

As such, drag could, and did, fail to transcend oppressive norms at times, as they could not escape the established gender relations and male representations of desirable female bodies. Subsequently, in “Bodies that Matter” (1993), Butler incorporated discussions on race in her analysis of gender, arguing that gendered, sexual and racial differences are not autonomous or discrete axes of power, but rather represent vectors operating simultaneously and through one another (Butler, 1993, p. 116–17). Critiques of this element of Butler's theorization have focused on how the issue of race was not convincingly integrated in Butler's discussion (see Salih, 2002, p. 64), or that it was important to preserve the distinction between the “raced” body and the gendered/sexed/sexualized one. The debate addressed here (though quite distant from participants' performances), still provides interesting similarities and differences that contributed to frame the participants' ambivalent, complex and performative negotiation of ethnicity *and* (racialized) masculinity (Butler, 1993, p. 130). On the one hand, Butler's argument of the social construction of gender, or race, did not fit with the participants' daily lives experiences and practices, since the participants did not live capoeira and parkour as “cosmetic options” to be taken up in order to constitute/challenge their gendered and racial subject position. Rather, paraphrasing Gates' comment on Butler arguments in relation to race/ethnicity (1992, in Sahli, 2002, p. 64), even though the participants reflexively addressed the sociopolitical construction of the racial/ethnic categories ascribed on them in their everyday lives, they were also conscious that these categories concretely influenced their social opportunities and trajectories in Turin's social spaces.

The participants' public enactment of capoeira and parkour illuminated the fault lines of Turin's social order, by showing the socially and politically constructed categories and hierarchies of belonging that the participants navigated and negotiated in their daily lives through capoeira and parkour. However, similar to the phenomenon of drag, the (gendered) repertoire, and representation of exemplar male bodies offered by capoeira, parkour (and related participants' masculine

references), heavily influenced the possible negotiation of established gendered relations in the research context. As shown earlier in this section, the participants' identification, and expression of selective (racialized) masculine identities based on muscular prowess, risk taking, and an implicit heterosexual normativity (exemplified by the figures of Bruce Lee and Marcos' "tall, big, black" capoeira master), continued to reproduce dominant representations of (racialized) masculinity and gendered relations. I agree with Joseph (2012) who urged scholars to pay attention to the gendered relations and schisms within seemingly unified diasporic and transnational cultural productions. There is no reason to believe that transnational and diasporic popular cultures and practices are not just as "deeply contaminated by the toxins of male domination" as mainstream cultures (Gilroy 2000, p. 127 in Joseph, 2012, p. 1089).

Robitaille's (2013) discussion of the body and the global diffusion of capoeira as a (commodified) cultural manifestation argued that a number of paradoxical elements are at play in the *experience* and *representation* of capoeira, especially in relation to race and gender. Relating this comment to the discussion in this chapter, it can be argued that for the research participants both practices enabled contingent liberatory bodily experiences that provided a subjective re-appropriation of their bodies, urban spaces, and the situational disruption of the race/body/marginality nexus within Turin's social spaces. However, as the participants' quotes have shown, the same situationally liberatory spaces created through capoeira and parkour also conveyed representations, and *desires*, of agile, yet muscular bodies that implicitly reinforced dominant gender relations. These bodily desires required for example men to be strong and self-confident, and implicitly framed women as passive and submissive (Bridge and Pascoe, 2014; de Boise, 2014), either due to social demands or to their "mindset". Marcos and Karim's reaction to a "whitish slim boy's" credibility for teaching capoeira (on the authority to teach and embody an "authentic" capoeira, see also Delamont, 2006) reflected a paradoxical reproduction of, and possibly the desire to embody racialized tropes relating

capoeira features to hegemonic, black masculinities conveying strength and a hetero-normative racialized sensuality (see Caudwell, 2011; Robitaille, 2010; 2013; related to this the issue see also Gottschild, 2003 and bell hooks, 1992). Deepening the understanding of the above-mentioned elements requires a dedicated study. A further unexpected interaction I had during fieldwork however reinforced this partial reading and questioned my own performance of masculinity in the field:

“Hugo is a research participant of 18. He is very enthusiast about the study and also a very skilled capoeirista and traceur. I am sitting and chatting with him in a break of our session, as the others continue training some movements and filming some shots for our video. Watching at the others we end up talking about “desired bodies” and Hugo describes his desired body as a feminine one, then he suddenly tells me about his bi-sexuality. I ask him if he told others and he says no, he is quite unsure and fearing of their reaction (I did not imply just the group of fellow capoeiras and traceurs, but he clearly intended so), of people's reaction in general to that: only his girlfriend and his mother know about his sexual orientations and they are fine with it, his girlfriend is bi-sexual too, he says. I ask him if he ever saw the lack of a somehow “typical” masculinity, the common jokes about gender stereotypes and the physical intimacy amongst the group as possible signs that they would accept somebody whose sexuality is different from the heterosexual norm. Hugo says he does not know, these are the reasons he feels good in this group, while at school or in his neighbourhood generally to be a “proper man” means to be a “womanizer”, to be physically and verbally aggressive and homophobic. Furthermore, he adds, most of the others (his friends practicing capoeira and parkour with him) have girlfriends and their sexual orientation is very clear. I suggest that they do not have to be bi-sexual or gay themselves to accept his sexual orientations. His reply, somehow dry and resigned, was simple: 'They might react as you did, and be fine at the beginning, but tell me sincerely, how would you react as a straight man, when you know the buddy you play, laugh, hang out with is bi-sexual? Wouldn't you at least once think he's trying to hit on you? After a while they know it they might feel uneasy with my presence, then I would lose the only people I feel ok with.’ (Fieldnotes entry, July 20th).

Hugo's words illuminate an hidden aspect of participants' apparently emancipatory and inclusive enactment of capoeira and parkour in the context of research, somehow echoing the interrogative De Boise poses “For whom really is

masculinity now inclusive?” (2014, p. 17). As anticipated earlier in this chapter, participants' bodily performances of capoeira and parkour showed that unequal social categories and hierarchies of belonging could be temporarily and situationally unsettled. However they also showed the ubiquitous and manifold characterizations through which unequal power relations (in this case gendered relations), were re-asserted and reproduced. This ethnographic excerpt showed that despite not engaging in macho, chauvinist or homophobic displays of masculinity, the participants' performances of explosive, risk-taking, and implicitly heterosexual (racialized) masculinity provided implicit messages of “proper” and acceptable bodies, gendered prerogatives and sexual orientations both to whom assisted and who participated to their practices.

The common *desire* amongst the participants to fulfil agile yet strong and muscular masculinities embodied in the widespread representations of capoeira and parkour, and affine characters, contributed to reinforce hetero-normative and dominant gender relations and simultaneously enabled the participants to negotiate other marginalizing social positioning.

Since I also engaged in the pursuit of similar bodily characteristics, (i.e. an agile and strong body) in my capoeira and parkour training, these elements challenged me to think about my role in the reproduction of power differentials and exclusionary dynamics. I had to consider myself as one of those people whose gender, ability, sexual orientation, complied with the “norm” in that specific group context (see also Francombe, 2011 on a similar reflection regarding neoliberal feminine normativity and class). I was also reminded that, as a capoeira teacher, and as a novice traceur, I had to address nuanced performative pedagogic strategies (Giroux, 2001a). As such, I needed to unpack and distinguish the characteristics that are part of capoeira and parkour embodiment and not naturally gendered (i.e. agility and strength), from the dominant gender representations enacted in the research context, and in contemporary late-capitalist societies, and a-critically

reproduced within the observed practices. These issues have been rarely explored in capoeira, with the exception of the studies of Delamont (2006), Joseph, (2012), Robitaille (2013) and Owen (2014). Similarly, only rare and recent studies by Kidder (2013), and Stagi (2015) addressed the themes of gender relations in relation to parkour. Therefore, I agree with Robitaille (2013, p. 236) on the importance of developing readings of these practices also considering the keys of gender and sexuality.

Following these considerations and paraphrasing Butler (1993) I contend that the participants' practices in this study represented a site of certain ambivalence, since their bodily performances of diasporic cosmopolitan identifications and (racialized) masculinities were the product of ongoing, multiple, intersecting identity positions. The insights and considerations addressed in this chapter contributed to frame participants' practices as “metonymic locations” (Duits and Van Zoonen, 2006, p. 114 in Francombe, 2014, p. 582) for many social, political, cultural and gendered negotiations. Participants' bodies therefore constituted a *disputed territory*, simultaneously representing a site for a disordering of social, and ethnic prerogatives, and the reproduction of established, gendered characteristics and relationships.

Drawing on these insights, the analysis in these pages is extended in the next chapters. In Chapter 5 I articulate the perspective developed here on the body with a discussion of the relationship of body, space and identity in the context of uneven development and rebranding of early 21st century post-industrial Turin. Finally, in Chapter 6, I further interrogate the participants' identity negotiations, and discuss how their engagement with capoeira and parkour simultaneously aligned and challenged contemporary discourses on the body and (neoliberal) subjectivities framed by the (self)fashioning of desirable, active bodies and identities through leisure and consumption choices, and ubiquitous health imperatives and moralities of self-responsibility.

5. NEGOTIATING (IN)VISIBILITY, (CONTINGENT) CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY IN TURIN'S REGENERATING SPACES

5.1 INTRODUCING KARIM

Karim is a nineteen years old tall, slim young man with an explosion of black curly hair often tied by an elastic coloured headband and thin, lively eyes looking straight into yours. In comparison to Marcos' strong and calm presence, Karim's engagement with the world resembles more of a whirlpool of entropic energy and slashing, swift tongued utterances. He is also an acute observer. As I approached the field to understand how young men of migrant descent engaged with capoeira and parkour within Turin's spaces, Karim spent a long time studying from distance how I engaged with his peers and with him before deciding to participate in the research. His long and careful evaluation lasted most of the first half of my fieldwork, which was a period when Karim smoothly kept himself at distance from any active interaction with me, or serious involvement with the research process. After Karim began to actively participate in the research and the creation of the participatory video documentary, he maintained his independent thought and critical wit, which often provided significant contributions to the discussion presented here.

Karim's reflexive, intensely lived, and critical stance towards the emplaced processes of selective inclusion of (post)migrants in Turin's public spaces introduces the discussion of this chapter. Drawing on Karim's narrative and other participants' accounts, I focus on how the participants' bodily negotiations of self, place and belonging was deeply related to, and responded, to the processes of spatial and social transformation that has drastically changed Turin's cityscape. As

I will show, apparently competing rationalities of celebration and surveillance of the “other” contributed to simultaneously valorise and pathologies (in both cases essentialise) the participants' bodies and practices (also through the performative arena of sports initiative and events) in the process of urban transformation. The examination of the participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces illuminates the participants' ambivalent position in these processes of urban, and social transformation as contingent citizens (Bohem, 2011) and provides a discussion of participants' practices as counter-conduct (Foucault, 2007 [1978]) in Turin's government of difference.

5.1.1 The curse of the margins

My name is Karim, I am 19 years old, I have been living in Turin since I was four. My father was one of the first Moroccans to come here to Turin in the early '90s. My father often says how the city has changed from when he first came. Then immigrants like him were few, and the city looked different from how it does now. For more than four years my father stayed in Italy doing any kind of off-the-books jobs to send money to us and build a house in Houazzam⁴², where we lived. Then

⁴²

The triangle composed by the cities of Beni Mellal, El Kelaâ Des Sraghna and Khourigba (withn which Houazzam, Karim's city of birth, is located), constitute one of the main emigration areas towards Italy and Spain (Azzeruoli, 2013, p. 54). The region hosts many phosphate mines and factories, which consitute the main employment opportunities together with agriculture. The late 1970s-80s process of mechanization of phosphate factories left high numbers of young men unemployed and this, together with the State's requisition of private land for infrastructure development are recognized as main factors leading to the first migration flows to Italy beginning in the early 80s (p. 54).

he settled all the papers and came to pick up my mother and my older sister first and, a couple years later, me.

Since I was very young I was always into sports, I liked being active. That came from my mom who thought when we came here that doing sports would always keep us children on the right side of things, and would hinder us from smoking and drinking... It took a while actually to convince her that most of my peers playing basketball smoked a cigarette just before a game or training! So before starting training capoeira and parkour I did some other sports, swimming, football, basketball... I tried football following my dad's suggestion but I didn't like it much, nobody considered me. I felt a bit like an alien. When I was about 10 I joined a basketball team. Apparently I was quite good in that and the coach was often complimenting me and saying I was a promising player for my age. However also there I didn't feel at ease. Back then I didn't know exactly why, the group didn't seem to accept me and things like that; so after a while I got sick of this and around 12 years old stopped playing basket. Actually, I stopped for a couple of years doing anything, any other sport or things like that, I just went around having and causing' troubles for me and my family. I was always very nervous and didn't need much of an excuse to start a fight with somebody I didn't even know. In that period my parents were really worried about me, they even thought I was being possessed by a Jinn⁴³.

5.1.2 Friendship, capoeira and parkour

The whole parkour and capoeira thing started after I met Marcos and Loris at school. The first year we didn't talk much as I was amongst a group of people who

⁴³ A *Jinn* is a supernatural entity in pre-Islamic and Muslim religion. The *Jinn* occupies a parallel world of that of human beings and can interfere with people's life possessing them. They can be good, neutral or evil, but usually are considered in the latter terms. "Incomprehensible" behaviours, such as sudden changes of mood and lacking of respect to elders and parents, can be considered *Jinn* possessions (see also Crapanzano, 1980).

just messed around and made troubles and we were pretty much a group on our own. By the end of that year though, everyone of that group but me failed, so during the second year I started to know better Marcos and then Loris better, who were now pretty much the “weirdos” of the class as much as me. I remember with Marcos we had a fight for stupid reasons, but then we became good friends, also because we lived close to each other. So I often went to visit him and we talked a lot about different things, not the usual stuff you can talk with anyone, you know, about life... So, we were in spring, school was finishing, we had nothing much to do and I watch on youtube this video of a guy who jumps from his balcony to a street light then to a bus stop and then catches the bus, and I thought I have to learn that, we have to learn parkour. At the beginning I didn't know what was parkour, I didn't even know if that video was a parkour video. But we started training anyway and it was a mess; we didn't know how to do it and we just watched videos and tried to copy them, but it was quite frustrating, in video everything look so easy and in reality... we often quarrelled, saying to each other what we were supposed to do because we have seen different videos where similar movements were made differently; so often we ended up everybody training on his own in a corner with his earphones on. It took a while for us to understand that parkour is not imitating others, to do as they do in videos, but to discover and build your own style. Parkour is more than everything a mental activity because you have to focus on your body, to dig into yourself and know your limits and your fears to work on them, not imitate the guys who do the craziest things. I remember well how training capoeira was useful for this, how speaking with other capoeira guys we met in the park I realized that playing capoeira it is not much about what you show to your opponent, but how playing your opponent show something about you, how you react to things, to confrontations, to challenges. This is how I realized that both capoeira and parkour are mental activities as much as physical; I mean you shape your mind as much as your body in both, you check and work to overcome your body limits as much as your fears, insecurities, ghosts, your life, that's it. If you look around you, ask around, most of the people you see training, including me, they train capoeira and parkour because they were isolated, they felt

isolated socially, and sometimes in their own families.

When I started to train parkour and capoeira I also realized how people looked at me... that's because I always... I never realized people saw me as a foreigner. I arrived here very young. I did all school here, I speak with the same accent as you everyone here, and I didn't even pose myself the question, right? I felt like anyone else. I did the same things as my age mates, so when the others isolated me when I played football or basketball I thought it was my fault, there was something wrong in me. Then, when I started training parkour and capoeira my peers would compliment and accept me, but people in the streets or around me kept looking at me in a bad way. So from then I started to realize they looked and behave with me like that because they considered me different from them, I mean... not in a good way.

5.1.3 Making Space

I can train any time of the day, with any kind of weather, because I do it for me, to feel better than the day before. There are no specific times of the day or places, or weather conditions I can train, because capoeira and parkour are not just sports I do, but are more something which now are part of who I am. For this reason we just go anywhere we see fit to train, because everyday I might want to train something different, or because I am just hanging around and I see a nice spot and I can't help busting some moves there. We have some favourite places, but sometimes we like to discover new ones as well, and also we need to find others because we are sent away from the places we are training. It's not at all a nice sensation you know, for people like me, like Marcos... it's a continuous feeling that there's no place for us. I walk on the streets and I get these strange, judging looks, checking on me as if I were about to do something bad, or I hear contemptuous undertone comments like "Marocchino dimmerda" [Shitty Moroccan]; I go on the

bus and people would not sit beside me. The only time I tried to enter in a club with Marcos and few others I was denied entry and asked where I was from... For me then it's a paradox because I'm Italian citizen but people on the streets just treat me as foreigner, and behave with me as if I were a drug dealer, or a pick pocket, I don't really know.

When we are around training I feel this less, people come and compliment us, children imitate us and you can see their parents enjoying. But still, if we go in a public area and we train on the walls and benches there we have to be careful that other groups of youngsters might come to harass us because we are damaging "their" benches. If it's not a bunch of truzzi [yobs] harassing us because they want to show who commands in "their area" it might be some elderly people thinking we are vandals, that we are crazy who either want to harm themselves or damage public properties. Finally here comes the police who usually is called by the latter to send us away. With them is a continuous hide and seek, and as it has been part of both capoeira and parkour history, in a sense you can say it keeps on being this way for us as well in 2014. What makes me angry the most is that, if we are not sent away through harassment or violent threats, as an alternative we are sent away with lame justifications, as if we were stupid, as if we don't deserve even a discussion. As when the police sent us away from the walls behind Mc Donald saying it was a private passage, and then after 15 minutes you would have people sitting on the same walls eating their sandwiches in front of them... we checked on the online land register and that area is public. So it is like they were taking us for fools, as since we do something that isn't common, that not many people do, they take the liberty of doing anything they see fit to send us away, to me they are at the same level to all the others who want to decide what is possible to do, or not to do in the spaces we train in.

It's all about it, because if we made competitions, used uniforms, train in a dedicated "equipped area", if we had clubs, and memberships, I'm sure they would

see us differently, even though we do the same thing. Instead as we use spaces which are public it is like we have less right to be there than others, as what we do is more dangerous than other sports, and they consider us vandals instead of the usual sporting guys.

5.2 LOCATING CAPOEIRA AND PARKOUR IN TURIN: READING MIGRANT BODIES AND URBAN SPACES IN A NEOLIBERAL(ISING) CITY

“Then there are those who come to bother you, first of all they start saying 'Hey this is private property' and maybe it is not, then they start to insult you, and then they call the police. Police obviously doesn't look favourably what we do... and for example there was this day I was at the bath tubs with my friend Hugo and the police comes and they verbally assaulted us, they didn't even say 'forbidden entrance, you have to go' then started insulting, degrading us, that really annoyed me, but we couldn't respond...” (Martin 17, years old)

“We are young, we are foreigners, we are always around, we are exactly who they [police] look for first ...” (Bogdan, 18 years old)

Karim's testimonial narrative, and Martin and Bogdan's quotes represent a link between the discussion just ended in the previous chapter and the one about to start in the following pages. When listening to the participants' accounts in the field I confirmed my initial idea that their contested engagement with capoeira and parkour could not be addressed following key words (i.e. integration, multiculturalism, criminality, educational attainment) characterizing policy makers' perspectives, as well as many academic frameworks that focus on (children of) migration (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2011, p. 2; Saada, 2000). Illuminating the unequal power relations evoked by the participants' voices in this and the earlier chapter therefore required an innovative, interdisciplinary endeavour bringing together migration, urban, and physical cultural studies. This interdisciplinary approach enabled me to address how cities' neoliberal spatial restructuring, individuals' needs and desires for self-constitution and bodily leisure practices

constituted, engaged and responded to each other in the research context, within a historical phase marked by xenophobic nationalism and “clash of civilisation” discourses at a (inter)national level.

In the previous chapter I addressed how the participants' engagement in capoeira and parkour enabled them to situationally disrupt marginalizing ethnic profiling and established prerogatives inscribed on male immigrant bodies within Turin's urban landscape. Taking a cue from Lefebvre's argument that “space originates from the body” (1991, p. 242) this chapter extends the exploration by showing how capoeira and parkour were used by participants in relation and response to the emerging forms of social and spatial restructuring characterizing the rebranding of cities like Turin. Thus, this chapter focuses on the relationship between young men of migrant descent *and* the city of Turin, rather than addressing the life of young people of migrant descent *in* cities, as merely containers where migrants and their families settle and make a living. I explore how the participants' practices negotiated, and were made part of, the process of repositioning and restructuring of their city of settlement (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2011, p. 2).

In the first chapter, I broadly described the process of restructuring that engaged Turin in its tentative repositioning from a post-industrial city to a capital of tourism, leisure and culture. In this description I highlighted how certain forms of migrant cultural difference became valuable assets in Turin's global rebranding (Glick Schiller et al. 2011, p. 400). In this chapter, the participants' voices and images will guide an ethnographic discussion of the dynamics and consequences initiated or enhanced by the process of restructuring. Furthermore, by addressing the participants' bodily and spatial negotiation through capoeira and parkour, I will explore the articulation of local “concerns” regarding contemporary Turin's redevelopment with global processes showing emerging patterns of transnational gentrification (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2015) and surveillance *orientations* (Manley and Silk, 2014; Bauman and Lyon, 2013) in (First World) regenerating urban areas.

Subsequently, I contend that the meanings and stakes of the participants bodily practices can be understood and must be explored in relation to the current spatial context of uneven participation in Turin's asymmetrical restructuring. It is a contention of this chapter that current practices and discourses of urban development and inclusivity can be understood as socio spatial ordering practices that reinforce and construct the identities and subjectivities of the bodies attending urban spaces. I illustrate how a focus on the spatial dimension can provide additional meaningful insights illuminating the relationship between urban renewal processes and the unequal transformations of social relations, definitions of citizenship, and sense of self and subjectivity (Harvey, 2006; Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2011; Manley and Silk, 2014; Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2015) that are enacted and negotiated within the context of research.

5.3 THE ALLURING AND EXCLUDING SPACES OF TURIN'S MULTICULTURALISM

“You know, I like going to the Latino Festival, there I feel the man (laughs)! I can go there dressed the way I want and I'm sure the looks I catch are not those of cops. There are a lot of Italians as well who come there and admire lot of things about us, like the food, the dances.” (Lucio, 18 years old)

“Performing at Festival Latino is good! I feel like a star, the same thing I am continuously harassed for when I train anywhere in Turin there brings me clapping and a lot of smiles from nice girls” (Erik, 19 years old) (Figure 22)



Figure 22. Capoeira and dance performance at Turin's "Festival Latino" (Photo Lucio)

Lucio's and Erik's accounts of the "Festival Latino" are an empirical example of one of the multicultural initiatives favoured by the municipality of Turin as part of its rebranding process described in the first chapter. Analysing similar rebranding processes enacted by post-industrial cities across the (first) world to reposition themselves in a global scenario, perspectives in urban geography (Binnie et al., 2006) and successive interdisciplinary studies (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Glick Schiller et al. 2011; Glick Schiller, 2015) underlined the emergence of a *cosmopolitan urbanism*. The concept of cosmopolitan urbanism refers to a process of legitimising neoliberal urban regeneration enacted by urban politicians, planners and boosters to attract "global talent", financial capital and tourism by revaluing urban space (Binnie et al. 2006; Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2011; Glick Schiller et al. 2011; Glick Schiller, 2015). It was in this framework that the idea of the cosmopolitan as a person who appreciated the "other" became salient (Glick Schiller, 2015, p. 106), and ethnic, religious and cultural diversity started to represent the heart of what makes a 21st century city "vibrant" (Binnie et al. 2006, p. 1). As briefly mentioned in the last chapter, cosmopolitans are mainly portrayed as people who desire "unfamiliar cultural encounters" and have a taste for difference (Ley 2004, p. 159). Urban developers popularized the notion that cosmopolitan urbanites constituted a "creative class" that brought cities the needed competitive energy, and cultural, symbolic, and financial capital, to positively transform and globally reposition themselves (Glick Schiller, 2015). As a

consequence of this process, urban developers have favoured the creation of specific events, locales and quarters of marketed multicultural difference where “other” cultures, tastes, bodies are valorised, and essentialised, and cosmopolitan classes can consume their taste of the other.

The high-end international events of the *Salone del Gusto* (Taste Fair) or *Terra Madre* (Mother Earth Fair) mentioned in the first chapter can be seen as representing one side of this process, as constituted through hosting mega events attracting a global creative, and progressive, class in Turin. On the other hand, Lucio's and Erik's mentioning of the more ordinary, and less fancy, “Festival Latino”, illuminated how the process of cosmopolitan urbanism has not addressed only the creative elite classes, but also related to the process of city making by engaging residents through initiatives of “multiculturalism from above” (Schmoll and Semi, 2013). This site also represents a telling example of the municipality/private sponsored initiatives mentioned in chapter 1, that incorporated capoeira and parkour in the city's vocabulary of urban, and social, regeneration and multiculturalism (from above). The Festival Latino is a free-entry event that has taken place since 2008 in the hot Turin summer in a huge open air area (20.000 square meters). It is sponsored by private entrepreneurs and the Turin municipality in the neighbourhood of Lingotto, South Turin. According to the promoters, the main aims of the festival are to “entertain and take out the boredom from the residents who cannot spend their holidays outside town” (Ielasi 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6vQHefy9h90>) and “provide cultural events in a public and frequented space” (Nicolotti, 2012) (Figures 23 and 24).



Figures 23-24. Images from Turin's Festival Latino

This space represents one example of how Turin engages in spectacles of multiculturalism not only to promote and rebrand itself at a global level, but also to manage and entertain less affluent and (im)mobile residents and minorities. The Festival represents an example of a commodified, and reified, construction of culture and multiculturalism providing urban residents, and minorities, with the desires and a taste, of the “other”, and with a sense of entering the “global scene” (Schein, 1999, p. 345) that denies geographic immobility. As Beck (2004) has argued “images of[...] exotic beauty, exotic food and so on, are globally cannibalised, re-staged and consumed as produces for the mass-markets” (p. 150-151). As such, within the spatially and temporally bounded spaces of the Festival Latino Lucio and Erik could feel recognised, and their racialized masculinity could be framed and perceived positively, even admired by a public of Italians fancying rhythmic music, sensual dancing, spicy foods, or simply a taste of difference⁴⁴. Paradoxically, in other spaces and interactions the same bodily features might raise less benevolent attention.

⁴⁴ The following videos from youtube can provide the reader an idea of how the festival is portrayed and promoted to its audience and to attract visitors with images of entertainment, exotic foods and (sensualized and racialized) bodies: , <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDDJdIPatQro> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDVIEr23pIY>

Contributions by studies addressing the relationship between the sporting/active body, media, space, and the commercial politics of cultural, and racial, representation (Andrews and Silk, 2010; Carrington, 2001; King and Springwood, 2001; Soar, 2001) elaborated further on the implications of these celebrating and objectifying representations of the cultural “other”. These contributions resonated with the participants' accounts, by highlighting how “other” bodies often function as racialised symbols of celebrated cultural difference, without challenging the unequal power relationships that structured their representation, surveillance and consumption (see Carrington, 2001, pp. 108-109). Respondents' bodies, such as Lucio and Erik's, in these contexts were not only valorised and fetishized as sites of pleasure, play and authenticity (Andrews and Silk, 2010) by an audience keen to engage in “unfamiliar cultural encounters” (Ley 2004, p. 159). They were also embodied in the image of a vibrant, multicultural yet sanitized city celebrating its inclusiveness, enacted through “the successful preclusion” (Soar, 2001, p. 39) of the dominant, and largely pejorative, associations linked to the immigrant body and the social and political issues these associations evoked. The consequences of this schizophrenic appropriation of the “other” body as both “desirable” and “abject” according to specific spatial and temporal contexts seemed all too evident in Lucio and Erik's accounts. The two young men ironically referred to this situation and seemed to aim to make the best of this reality when becoming the object of some “positive” attention. It may be argued that Lucio and Erik's accounts portrayed a very specific temporal and spatial context where immigrant bodies were valorised and essentialised in Turin's public spaces. In this chapter however, I contend that these spectacles of aestheticised multiculturalism reflected and complemented the creation of Turin's renewed cityscape and emerging conceptions of citizenship, and Karim provided a synthetic description of both:

“To me Turin seems as it is made for those who like to spend their free time in the city centre, or going to the malls, to gyms, to clubs, or restaurants spread around the rest of the city... for those who for one reason or another don't like doing this there is neither much, or a place. If you ask me why we are sent away so many times from almost all the areas we train in I'd say it's not just because of racism or because we

are considered 'not from here'. Of course there's also that, but in my opinion it's because we go to ruin the image that people give to specific places we are training in. As for example, we train nearby the entrance of a building nearby Parco Dora, but the people living or working there think we are ruining the image of that building. Or maybe nearby there's a brand new shop there, the owner thinks we are going to scare customers away; he makes a phone call saying 'I don't like that these guys train there, they scare customers' and here comes the police saying that you can't jump there, that it's dangerous or that it's private property when it isn't." (Karim) (Figures 25-26)



Figures 25-26. Ending a training session: a couple of policemen interrupting participants' practice in a newly inaugurated public park/mall/residential area complex for "safety reasons" (Photos from participatory video footage).

While Lucio's account described the creation of a temporary public-private multicultural entertainment district as an example of Turin's "multiculturalism from above" (Schmoll and Semi, 2013), Karim's words seemed to refer quite specifically

to the ongoing process of urban regeneration, and gentrification, that is widely enacted across Turin's urban spaces. As argued previously, this process aimed to transform specific inner city and peripheral areas from blighted to vibrant, fashionable, and appealing sites for residents and tourists “of the right sort” (Harvey, 2008, p. 38). Focusing on how the regeneration process has transformed the architectural forms and socio-economic dynamics of a gentrified area of Turin's inner city, Semi (2004, p. 85) drew on Zukin (1995; 1998) to suggest that the economic core of contemporary Turin changed from the manufacturing of goods to the consumption of (cultural) products and (cosmopolitan) imag(inari)es. In addition to the creation of temporary entertainment multicultural districts, the process implied also the promotion of regenerated neighbourhoods where the city creative classes could reside, meet up, socialize and consume, as well as develop a (trans)cultural identity that is simultaneously place bound and global (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2015, p. 2). Sigler and Wachsmuth (2015) suggested that local experiences of neighbourhood renovations are becoming less uniquely distinctive and more readily comparable with neighbourhood change occurring in various areas in the world, at least for local gentrifiers (p. 3). Through this process, an “aspirational” emerging middle class comes to represent itself as a part of a global, cosmopolitan class consuming a increasingly homogeneous “gentrification commodity” (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2015, p. 3) as well as engaging in similar economic, and social, urban restructuring processes. The discussion in this chapter will contribute to these perspectives by focusing on how processes of spaces, and class, (re)formation transformed not only social relationships and practices, but also the representation and consumption of the (un)privileged bodies attending or excluded from these gentrified areas. Furthermore, I will highlight how these processes have structured effective hierarchies of belonging and desirability of the bodies living and moving within and around these gentrified territories, that were illuminated by participants' contested spatial and bodily negotiations of inclusion/exclusion in public spaces.

Semi (2004) has described the “rebirth” of several Turin neighbourhoods in a way that highlighted a model of development indissolubly associating regeneration and market revitalisation, as qualifying element of urban processes of gentrification (p. 93). Just as for the example of the “Festival Latino”, the gentrification of Turin's inner city and peripheral areas has often been branded with multicultural lures and cosmopolitan imaginaries made of “ethno-chic” shops and restaurants, “authentic traditional” workshops and *bistros*, and international street food parades apparently providing Turin with a desired, and desirable, image of (boutique) multiculturalism (Fish, 1997). Turin's own way of being global has found physical expression through these locally shared territories (i.e. the Festival Latino, gentrified inner city neighbourhoods, or the area of Parco Dora, which will be explored more in detail in the following sections due to its relevance for the participants' practices) where encounters with difference have been both enabled and constrained by ethnic restaurants, import stores and/or architectural forms (Binnie et al. 2006, p. 15). However, as Semi (2004) has underlined, in continuity with what I have argued above about the “Festival Latino”, the valorization of essentialised “other” bodies in specific manners, spaces and times has not facilitated their social inclusion or membership in overall city public life. Rather, it has mainly accentuated the *distinction* of regenerated, vibrant urban spaces from urban areas, and communities, lacking the desired characteristics of “otherness” (Semi, 2004, p. 88; see also Silk and Andrews, 2008, p. 396; Manley and Silk, 2014), as defined by their segregating difference, be it poverty, ethnicity, religion or a combination of these factors (Glick Schiller, 2015; Manley and Silk, 2014). As a matter of fact, while Turin's urban planners and gentrifiers aimed to reflect an active celebration of inclusion and desire for diversity, they actually produced exclusionary dynamics by drawing symbolic, but effective boundaries between acceptable and non-acceptable difference (Ley, 2004; Binnie et al., 2006). Developing the argument, the work of Manley and Silk (2014) has addressed the complex re-positioning of place and cultural politics of class, race and gender mediated in contemporary multicultural cities through the logic of spectacular urban regeneration and concerns regarding terrorism, security and crime. In particular, the authors

highlighted the relationship between urban renewal discourses distinguishing between acceptable and non-acceptable difference and diffused, “liquid”, progressive and developmental dimensions of surveillance and social control measures (Bigo, 2006; Bauman and Lyon, 2013). Following Manley and Silk (2014), I contend that the indissoluble relationship between urban renewal and surveillance has reiterated and made (in)visible both the “desirable” and “abject” bodies in Turin's redeveloped urban spaces, and justified the management, control, and selective inclusion of specific bodies, (contingent) city-zens, and civil liberties in the renewed cityscape. As such, in the context of this research, the discriminating lines attributing legitimacy to immigrant bodies seemed to reside in the capacity of these “other” bodies to consume, or contribute to the cosmopolitan and consumption-oriented imaginaries of regenerated urban areas, and to reaffirm the established (though shifting and context specific), hierarchies of belonging (Back et al. 2012) that characterized Turin's public life, and polity. These dynamics were confirmed by critical readings of contemporary processes of cities' “renaissance” where “it appears that the boundaries between the consuming and non-consuming public are strengthening, with non-consumption being constructed as a form of deviance” (Coleman, 2004, p. 27; see also Silk and Andrews, 2008, p. 403).

Following Glick Schiller (2015), the paradox of Turin, and other cities', urban regeneration was that to accomplish and legitimise the reclaiming of urban neighbourhoods to develop a cosmopolitan city, the differences of “the other” were constructed as not only necessary for the success of the urban regeneration project, but also as threatening this form of city making, when associated with images of incompatible (cultural) difference, poverty, and “disruptive” uses of space. Drawing on these insights, and the participants accounts, it can be argued that participants' bodies were differently constructed and addressed in various territories in Turin's public spaces according to variable dimensions of space and time (Brown, 2011, 2014). Their bodies and bodily performances were constructed

and valorised as a “new exotica” (Hall, 1992b, p. 31) when they provided authenticity to Turin's cosmopolitan image in its entertainment and consumption oriented districts. Capoeira performances in these settings connoted a cultural practice related to exotic and simultaneously powerful and sensual bodies. Parkour exhibitions offered a taste of a spectacular, modern and vibrant urban diversity and provided a sanitized image of “super-diverse” bodies and practices. The same bodies and practices were nevertheless pathologised and related to urban anxieties (i.e. insecurity, crime, pathological difference) when they appeared outside these boundaries in both peripheral and gentrified areas of the city. These insights highlighted the role of the social production of space, and time (see also, Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996) in the construction, perception and negotiation of the participants' (post)migrant bodies. The participants more or less consciously described and recognized the unspoken and unquestioned power differentials (Glick Schiller, 2015) taking shape within and around Turin's regenerated, inclusive and cosmopolitan spaces:

“We have just finished training in a suburban area south of Turin... As we head towards the bus stop Karim mentions that on his way home he would like to go in the city centre to check a group of his friends who are performing parkour for a urban clothing promotional event. I ask him how would it feel to be called to perform in commercial and promotional events in public areas where he was sent away so many times by 'concerned' shopkeepers and public (as it happened today to us, by the way):

Karim: You know it's kind of... I guess it might be helpful to show a different image of us, so that people could understand a bit more what we do, maybe after a while we'd have less of the problems we had today... also the money they give you, when you share it amongst performers, it is usually worth a day of any off-the-book shitty job, but you have done what you liked, plus you are showing home that what you do is not exactly worthless... on the other hand though I'd feel like an obedient puppy that does what he's said when it is said, and then can be sent away for no reason” (Fieldnotes, May 28, 2014).

Subsequently, it can be argued that Turin's contemporary urban image and governance has focused upon the production of commodified spaces of modernity

and alterity wherein both capoeira and parkour were occasionally incorporated (i.e. Festival Latino, or the urban clothing promotional event). However, rather than generating the promised new or challenging encounters, these emerging regenerated spaces seemed to produce a homogenisation, domestication and commodification of difference (Binnie et al, 2006, p. 18). The creation of such spaces of domesticated difference therefore implied invisible but effective geographies of power that enabled, and constrained participants' movements and practices. In the following sections, I use the lenses of capoeira and parkour to make these geographies of power tangible.

5.4 OUTLINING TURIN'S PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT OF DIFFERENCE

“Let me tell you one thing, everywhere we go to train at some point someone would come to bother us, it can be the man at the window telling us to get a job, to the elderly who call the police... even guys of our age often come to us and ask us 'why did you guys come to do your stuff here?' “ (Karim)

[Talking about a public event where some of participants performed capoeira in the city centre] “I am in the square playing and the people who pass by, they say “wow!”, for them everything I do is something extra-ordinary, let's say so, something that they have never seen” (Marcos)

An understanding of the power differentials created and negotiated in Turin public spaces needs to highlight how the discourses of (neoliberal) urban “renaissance” are embedded in strategies of urban governance, and initiatives aiming to address social anxieties regarding crime, (in)security and uncontrolled immigration (Sim and Coleman, 2000: Coleman 2004) that raise constant moral panics in Italian public discourses (Dal Lago, 1999; Palmas, 2009, 2010). As highlighted by Manley and Silk (2014, p. 361), these anxieties are emblematic of a contemporary state of unease and heightened sense of emergency concerning public and national security (Bigo, 2006, 2011) that contributes to reinforce a widespread acceptance and

normalisation of surveillance in contemporary late-capitalist societies. On the other hand, Turin's practices of progressive urban governance, embedded in discourses of social inclusion and multiculturalism, cannot be exhaustively explained as the enactment of a Janus-faced and manichean process of regeneration. Rather, the neoliberal, market oriented gentrification of specific “exemplar” urban areas did not correspond only with militarized surveillance and punitive severity brought to bear towards targeted bodies in “problematic” neighbourhoods (Coleman, 2000, 2004, 2005). Recent contributions on the topic (Manley and Silk, 2014; Baumann and Lyon, 2013) have underlined how contemporary “liquid”, developmental and progressive dimensions of surveillance and social control contrast with an understanding of surveillance as a fixed concept, and address surveillance as an *orientation* that must be discussed in light of shifting and context-specific trends (Manley and Silk, 2014, p. 362). As such, “key global moments” (Manley and Silk, p. 362), as 9/11, or the Paris 1/7 and 11/13 terror attacks, escalated surveillance technologies and a pervasive scanning of minority populations against a normalised majority. Nevertheless, such global patterns reflect local concerns. In contemporary Italy these included a crushing economic crisis and the “threat of immigration”, which have formed the “surveillance milieu” (p. 362) enacted in the context of research.

On a similar note, the work of McGuirk and Dowling addressed the apparently competing and contradictory elements characterizing “actually existing” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002) forms of neoliberal urban transformation by framing neoliberalism as a less-than-coherent assemblage of diverse practices, projects and rationalities (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009, p. 175). The authors framed neoliberal urban governance as an open and active assemblage composed of multiple, competing, and often experimental projects that do not forcibly add up to an integrated whole (Larner et al. 2007, p. 242). The integration of both perspectives on surveillance and neoliberal urban transformations addresses how Turin's progressive spatial regeneration has represented a multifaceted and hybrid

assemblage. As such, in Turin's regenerating spaces, market-inspired regulations and practices, revanchist and xenophobic discourses, and progressive policies of "multiculturalism from above" (Schmoll and Semi, 2013) have incoherently coexisted in constituting the emerging spatial representation, government and surveillance of the cityscape and of the bodies therein. Understanding Turin's neoliberal urban restructuring process as contradictory and multifaceted has enabled this chapter's discussion to go beyond reified readings of urban neoliberalism as a homogeneous, determinative and ascendant enterprise (McGuirk, and Dowling, 2009).

Drawing on the work of Coleman (2005) and Rosol (2015) amongst others, I will highlight how practices of neoliberal urban regeneration and governance in contemporary Turin have not focused only on the production of market and consumption oriented gentrified, and cosmopolitan, spaces (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009). Rather, the following section will address how Turin's neoliberal regeneration is also entwined with, and organized around, representations of various spaces across the city as "people centred" and participatory. This has veiled the (re)production of power differences and inequality behind a language of "community participation" and "cohesion" (Coleman, 2005, pp. 131-132). Such urban management practices not only refashion the look and feel of city space but also simultaneously reconfigure the development and rationale of social control in the city (2005, p. 132; see Manley and Silk, 2014) and an emerging "materialization of order" (Mitchell, 2003, p. 235) in the urban form. The focus on capoeira and parkour in this study provided a unique perspective to address such spatial processes. The ambivalent reactions and interactions with the participants' public practice of capoeira and parkour represented a meaningful observation point for the complex and competing discourses and processes of (re)production and regulation of spaces and bodies in Turin.

Listening to the participants' accounts throughout the research, one particular place

seemed to concretely locate and emplace the ambivalent and apparently contradictory government of difference that the city of Turin enacted in its (regenerated) cityscape: the Parco Dora area. The following sections will address the social practices and relationships this space enabled and constrained *within and around* its area in more detail, as an empirical case exemplifying the spatial practices and rationalities of “conduct of conduct” (Rose, 2000; Silk and Andrews, 2008; Rosol, 2015) enacted in Turin's urban spaces and negotiated by participants through their engagement with capoeira and parkour.

5.5 PARCO DORA: AN OVERVIEW

Parco Dora is a huge post-industrial urban park (456.000 square meters) where large manufacturing plants of companies such as Fiat and Michelin were located until the 1990s. The transformation of the area began in 2004, but the actual works started in 2007, to open three of the park's five lots by 2011 to the public, in time for the city's celebration of the 150th anniversary of the unification of Italy⁴⁵. Unanimously hailed as the symbol of the transformation of a city “closing its factories and re-discovering other vocations” (La Repubblica, 2011), Parco Dora provided a “green lung” to an urban area heavily connoted by abandoned factory plants, and connected two recent residential/commercial/entertainment developments in two different neighbourhoods (Figures 27-28-29).

⁴⁵ Turin was Italy's first capital, from 1861 until 1865.



Figure 27. Parco Dora “Vitali Area” in 1995.



Figure 28. Parco Dora “Nole area” in 2000



Figure 29. The Multifunctional 12.000 square meters space of Area Vitali, Parco Dora.

The Parco Dora area is managed by a public-private body, “Comitato Parco Dora”, which operates in one of the more ample urban regeneration zones in Turin (Spina 3): “one of the most visible elements of the city urban change” (<https://comitatoparcodora.wordpress.com/il-comitato-parco-dora/>). According to the official statement, the Comitato Parco Dora is “an instrument of strategic action managing the transformation process of this area [...] answering to the strong need of *care and economic and social cohesion* the city expresses” (<https://comitatoparcodora.wordpress.com/il-comitato-parco-dora/>, *e m p h a s i s* added). Aiming to “promote and sustain local development programs, strengthen the social fabric, activate resources and opportunities [...] and re-establish connections between the “old” and “new” neighbourhood” (<https://comitatoparcodora.wordpress.com/il-comitato-parco-dora/>), Comitato Parco Dora promoted the enactment of several participatory and community oriented initiatives (i.e. community gardening, street-art workshops, historical-architectural itineraries, “sports for all” initiatives) targeting various local groups (i.e. youth, families, elderly, minorities). The outcome of such participatory and community oriented initiatives, which aimed to foster “care”, “regeneration” and “economic and social cohesion” is indeed a lively area packed everyday with youth and families, and providing space for all sort of initiatives by groups of citizens and associations. The area does seem to live up to its goal of representing a large space for social inclusion and expression in Turin's territory: last year 16.000 members of Turin's Muslim community gathered here to celebrate the *Eid-ul-Fitr* (the end of *Ramadan*), and almost every weekend during spring/summer migrant associations gather in the area to celebrate festivities or in-groups social events (Figure 30).



Figure 30. Turin's Muslim community gathering at Parco Dora Vitali Area to celebrate the *Eid-ul-Fitr* (source: Lastampaweb.it)

The “Parco Dora” area also represented an important meeting point for participants; in Cosmin's words “we don't need to text each other or put appointments on facebook, here you always find someone”, and now it represents one of the first places that recently arrived migrant youth discover in the city:

“At the beginning it was hard, only work and home, I had nowhere else to go, then someone I met told me about Parco Dora and I came here, that's when I met the others” (Alex, 20 years old)

However, during fieldwork, various accounts emerged from the participants in relation to their contested use of urban spaces and the area of “Parco Dora”. Their accounts highlighted experiences that enabled them to look with a different perspective at the (cl)aims of social inclusiveness, cohesion and community participation made by the Comitato Parco Dora in regard to one of the biggest regenerating spaces in Turin. In the following section I will address this perspective using a critical analysis of the spatial power relations evoked by the participants to unpack the practices and rationalities organizing contemporary, regenerated and cosmopolitan Turin spaces and governing the “bodies that matter” (Butler, 1993;

Silk and Andrews, 2008) who are inhabiting these spaces.

5.6 PARCO DORA: PROGRESSIVE URBAN GOVERNANCE AND SPATIAL CONDUCT OF CONDUCT

“After hearing so often, 'you can't stay here, you can't go there', 'your place is Parco Dora', it feels like they're just trying to contain us”.
(Marcos)

“So they [the police] said us, well, that the place theoretically dedicated to us is there [Parco Dora], if you go elsewhere, for example behind McDonalds, they come to send you away, they make you a fine, or threaten to make it, and tell you that the place is always that, right? Well, if you can't come here, you can't go there, many, especially the youngest, finally end up there.” (Samba)

Drawing from ethnographic data and the participants' accounts I unpack the spatial power relations hidden behind the creation of “participated” and community oriented spaces as Parco Dora, and articulate these power relationships with the process of progressive urban regeneration enacted in Turin alongside the participants' contested identity negotiation. The works of Huxley (2013), Rutland & Aylett (2008), and Rosol (2015) have shown insightful examples of a critical analysis of participatory and consensual forms of urban governance (Rosol, 2015, p. 257). These studies illuminated the (spatial) processes through which people are encouraged to govern themselves and others in certain ways in the context of key words such as “community”, “participation” and “cohesion” (p. 257). This analysis however does not intend to question the Comitato Parco Dora's truthfulness or intentions of the ethos of “care”, “participation” and “community cohesion” that guide their management of the park, and regenerating areas surrounding it. Rather, the aim of this critical analysis is to draw on the participants' accounts and testimonies to explore the extent to which this ethos have been applied, including to which bodies and to what conducts. As noted, “Parco Dora” park was unanimously hailed as an especially positive case of community-based

participation in directing the future development of a city. It was managed through collaborative planning, promoting multicultural coexistence, and secured by almost invisible surveillance methods, such as small panoramic CCTV cameras.

Many young urban residents, including some research participants, cited Parco Dora area as a very positive location in respect of other city spaces. Unlike regulated gentrified or temporary entertainment spaces, the area Parco Dora hosts a variety of spontaneous interactions and citizen-led initiatives through the year in its huge space. In this sense, Parco Dora represents a path-leading example of a pacified, yet vibrant urban space, and an emerging attraction for tourists and planners alike (Figures 31-32).



Figure 31. A music festival taking place at Parco Dora (courtesy of Fabiola Giuliani).

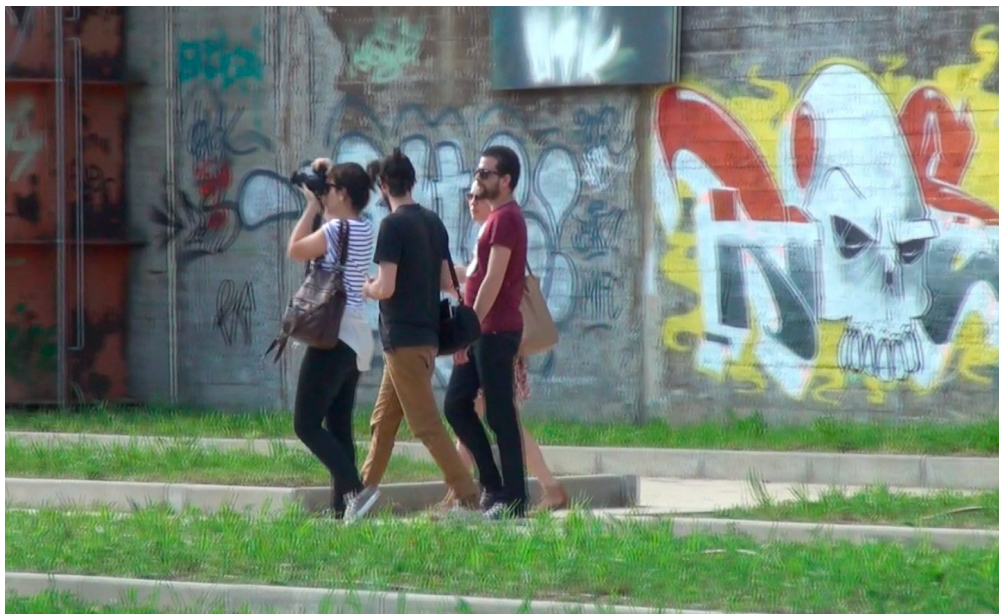


Figure 32. Urban tourists at Parco Dora (photo from participatory video-footage)

However, Rosol (2015) has critically addressed the “common good” ethos related to spaces such as Parco Dora, specifically in regard to the *neglect of conflict* they inspire (p. 260). Rosol's arguments focus on the consequences of creating planned-spontaneous, apparently consensual and pacified urban spaces that are oriented to the abstract, and to some extent deceiving, idea of “common good”: a cohesive “we” where particular interests, and practices, are disqualified. As Fainstein (2000, pp. 457-461) has argued, in a context where action is only legitimate when it benefits everybody, *even the already powerful or privileged*, socially marginalized groups cannot use their most important political tool: the contested use of space for their specific needs and claims (Rosol, 2015, p. 260). The practical implications of this ethos are clearly presented in Marcos and Samba's accounts at the beginning of this section. Parco Dora, and specifically one area, the so-called Ex-Vitali area⁴⁶, did not simply become *an* urban area where various and multiple residents-led practices acquired social legitimacy and space. Rather, the Ex-Vitali area became *the* area where practices that did not fit with the ambiance of the regenerated surroundings neighbourhoods *had to take place*. The process of containment, paraphrasing Marcos' quote, of capoeiras and traceurs, and other disenfranchised youth, was not enacted exclusively through coercive force and punitive severity by police forces. Possibly even more effectively, the idea of “community participation” in urban governance was endorsed by a large part of the public, which continuously questioned the participants' legitimacy of practicing in random urban public spaces, especially “when they could go to Parco Dora”. In Samba's, and other participants', words the threat of fines or other troubles with police, and the fact the Parco Dora was already a reference in many young people's daily routes, influenced the (spatial) conduct of many young traceurs and capoeiras, as well as those members of the public pushing them to practice there. However this emerging process of conducting the participants' spatial conduct was addressed

⁴⁶ The Vitali area is composed of 12.000 square meters of “multifunctional space” (<http://www.comune.torino.it/comitatoparcodora/servizi/attivita/visiteguidate/parcodora.pdf>) and surrounding green areas and walking paths.

critically by participants:

“Well, I think the city has to be for everyone, and especially for us youth, it seems there's only one place for us, if you don't count malls. But at the end of the day we are everywhere, we cannot leave from Settimo [a suburban area in northern outskirts of Turin] every time to come to the [Parco] Dora.” (Hugo)

The apparent openness of Parco Dora area and surrounding regenerated neighbourhoods represented a deceptive element to address in this study. Compared with other “spaces of play” in literature (Coleman, 2000; Coleman, 2005; Silk, 2004, 2007; Silk and Andrews, 2008) the whole area is more a composition of porous spaces connecting various lots that compose the Parco Dora and the surrounding residential/commercial areas. This form of planning contrasted with images of contemporary fortified citadels where surveilled *interdictory spaces* are created by planners and developers to “systematically exclude those adjudged unsuitable and even threatening, people whose class and cultural positions diverge from the builders and their target markets” (Silk and Andrews, 2008, p. 400; see also Manley and Silk, 2014). The ongoing creation of spaces such as Parco Dora (the last lots are still in construction) shows an emerging form of neoliberal urban governance in Turin that is not manifested exclusively through “law and order” approaches, market oriented imperatives and the militarization/surveillance of public spaces. Rather the forms of urban governance and “conduct of conduct” observed in the field were enacted through the incorporation of progressive keywords, including a sanitized re-interpretation of the Lefebvrian “right to the city”⁴⁷, to create compartmentalised and pacified, yet vibrant and tourist-friendly urban spaces.

Figure 33. A poster of a community initiative entitled “Changes: take back your space!” aiming to

⁴⁷ As highlighted by Ventura (2015) the political claims of transformative spatial, and self, re-appropriation inspired by Lefebvre's (1991) “right to the city” and by the Situationist movement have been re-appropriated, digested and commodified for corporate consumption by a range of commercial and developmental bodies (as predicted by the Situationists themselves). The fashionable practice of flash-mobs is just one famous example of the legitimisation of “spontaneous”, commodified and corporate friendly temporary spatial appropriations.



YEPP SPAZIO PUBBLICO organizza una giornata di festa e presentazione delle attività: torneo di calcio a 5, sport al femminile, esibizioni di capoeira, afrodance.

PER ISCRIZIONI: vieni domenica 24 alle ore 15:00 oppure scrivi a portapalazzo@yepp.it
YEPP Porta Palazzo

Un progetto della Compagnia di San Paolo nell'ambito di:



In partenariato con:



promote sport participation in Turin public parks and sponsored by Turin municipality and the “Compagnia San Paolo” Bank Foundation.

The enactment of this approach for urban governance represents one example of how practices perceived as disruptive or out of place in regenerated areas are incorporated and made constitutive of a *bounded*, community oriented and inclusive urban space. Apparently, the spontaneity and “ordered-disorder” (Featherstone, 1991, p. 82 in Coleman, 2005, p. 135) of this approach has contributed effectively to the city rebranding itself as cosmopolitan, dynamic, and youth friendly. Furthermore, in the creation of these progressive and pacified social spaces a major role has also been taken by “sport for inclusion” initiatives, which often took place at Parco Dora, and in other community spaces and sporting structures scattered across the city (Figure 33).

Some authors (Spaaij, 2009a; Agergaard et al., 2015) have underlined how sport-

based intervention programs for disadvantaged urban youth serve as forms of social control and regulation, rather than simply enhancing individuals' opportunities of socialization and mobility. These authors have shown how sport is increasingly becoming a substantial aspect of neoliberal urban policy repertoires aiming to pacify and control contemporary city spaces. Discussing case studies from The Netherlands (Spaaij, 2009a) and Denmark (Agergaard et al., 2015) these authors questioned whether the initiatives actually represented attempts to “civilize” and regulate “troublesome” youth, and their neighbourhoods through the provision of socializing, and sometimes professional opportunities for young people at the margins (Spaaij, 2009a, p. 252). Interestingly a street educator working with a “sport for inclusion” project in the area of Parco Dora and Turin north periphery, expressed similar concerns:

“Donors’ ask us to intervene with groups of young people at risk of being involved, or who already are involved, in deviant practices, to build 'emancipation paths from criminal circles', but the issue is another ... Really, what do we have to offer them, apart than two hours of football?! The feeling I got after realising that no systemic interventions are planned beyond our work to address these guys', and more widespread, issues is that they [the donors in this case the municipality and a private foundation] just want us to be their shepherds, to entertain them, so that the kids will not go all the time around 'making problems'” (Piero, street educator, Interview 13th July 2014).

Piero's point was echoed Agergaard's and colleagues analysis of a sport for inclusion intervention in Denmark (2015). The authors discussion highlighted how political reasoning leading to the sport-for-inclusion program addressed the projects' recipients leisure time, as a “dangerous time”. The project's beneficiaries (mostly youth of immigrant origins) time out of school and/or work needed to be organized and regulated in order to avoid to prevent extremist views and radicalisation among young people in a post 9/11 “war on terror” context. This insight highlights how progressive initiatives of social inclusion are intertwined with rationales of “soft” surveillance and social control of the recipients of the

initiatives, who usually belong to “problematic” minorities (Manley and Silk, 2014), identified as disenfranchised, mostly (post)migrant, male youth. As a consequence of this rationale Agergaard and colleagues also highlighted the local authorities and communities' widespread suspicion of the youth's self-organized leisure practices, as if their practices would automatically imply anti-social or criminal aspects, and not simply reflect the participants' interests and desire for socialization (2015, p. 8). This suspicion reflects a seemingly incoherent attitude about the participants' practices in changing public contexts and temporalities.

As I have shown in this chapter, both capoeira and parkour have been frequently co-opted in Turin festive events to re-affirm the city's cosmopolitan and modern allure. Despite the differences between the two practices, I contend that the spatial dynamics regarding the (un)proper use of space regarding capoeira and parkour practitioners were quite similar. For both practices the inclusion in city celebratory/commercial events happened mainly through the mediation of organized groups (capoeira schools and a parkour association) operating in Turin. As argued by Karim, what has contributed to determine the (il)legitimacy of participants' bodies practicing parkour and capoeira in various spaces and temporalities seemed exactly to be the (lack of) belonging to a formal sporting institution able to legitimate, and govern, the participants' spontaneous and unpredictable enactment of both disciplines, and possibly orient them within the regulated spatial and temporal boundaries of Turin continually renovating city scape⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ Local capoeira schools, and the parkour association recently founded in Turin, did not seem oriented to the regulation and/or the “disciplining” of both practices in Turin. These organisations' involvement with authorities was often opportunistically limited to reciprocal self-promotion. Nevertheless, during the research a few sport-for-inclusion projects saw the potential to engage with young disenfranchised people through capoeira and parkour, and offered to collaborate with some of the participants. In the next chapter I will address the participants' ambivalent relationship with projects aiming to promote spatial, and social, regeneration through sporting initiatives. If, how, and to what extent these evolving relationships with institutional actors will consolidate, legitimate, and conduct, the participants' practices in Turin's social context remains to be explored. How these relationships will influence the participants' identity and social positioning' negotiations, are also questions that will have to be answered by future research.

Drawing on such contributions, the creation of spaces of participation, community and cohesion, that have been highlighted by the consistent use of the Parco Dora area by a wide array of actors, (i.e. urban residents, “sport for inclusion” projects), can represent therefore Turin's way of addressing specific *problems*. Such problems *exist* in the presence of blighted and decaying post-industrial complexes in urban areas, the city's economic stagnation, the necessity to govern and control the activities of “potentially dangerous” disenfranchised youth, and growing social tensions regarding insecurity and the proper use(r)s of urban public spaces. The practices, or *technologies* employed to solve these problems include the militarization and surveillance of public spaces in “problematic” neighbourhoods, *and* an investment in promoting areas where social initiatives combine “care”, “economic and social cohesion”, “regeneration” and “community participation”, such as Parco Dora.

The *rationalities*⁴⁹ underpinning the creation of these spaces ultimately refer to emerging discourses of progressive but capital oriented development, combine a neoliberal, cosmopolitan, and *participatory* ethos (see also Rosol, 2015), and are also compliant with the surveillance orientation characterizing the context of this research. Although contradictory in appearance, participation and neoliberal orientation are nevertheless reconcilable through the neoliberal conception of economic rational subjects who make decisions based on cost-benefit calculations and who also members of self-governing communities (Rosol, 2015, p. 269). By using indirect techniques, authorities can conduct and control individuals without being responsible for them or their decisions. Stressing the individuals' “freedom” and “choice” renders the individuals responsible for the consequences of their choices and shifts the responsibility for social risks onto them:

“There is a strange, stark contrast between Parco Dora, its Vitali Area, and the surrounding spaces. A couple of hundreds meters from the Area

⁴⁹ Here I use the term rationality as given by Rose and Miller (1992, p. 175) to mean the changing discursive fields within which the exercise of power is conceptualised, and the moral justifications for particular ways of exercising power by various authorities are made explicit.

Vitali participants are often blocked, harassed, and sent away by police forces and 'concerned' residents according to 'safety reasons' and, less often, due to 'private property trespassing'. At a close distance from these scenes I have often witnessed children of 10-12 years old climbing pillars and walls of ten, or more, meters high without any trace of intervention by adults or security forces, despite a discrete but widespread presence of CCTVs. One of the main reasons why Marcos and few others do not like at all Parco Dora is exactly because of this, because, they say, *they would feel responsible* for the inconsiderate actions of reckless people, including children, they barely know.” (Fieldnotes, 16th June, 2014, emphasis added)

Therefore, as highlighted by Rosol (2015) “governing through participation” is not about deceiving people and distorting the “truth”, strategies of manipulation planned long beforehand, or ideological deception. It is about specific technologies of governing and conducting conduct that rest on specific discourses (i.e. of urban regeneration, community participation, economic and social cohesion) and provide the basis for the achieved consensus. In light of these considerations, at first sight Parco Dora seemed to emplace what Lefebvre (1991) considered a space for representation: a spontaneous and ongoing co-construction by various users of an urban space.

However, at a closer look Parco Dora resembled a space conceived, with planned “ordered disorder” and the spontaneity of manifestations, as a huge *container of diversity*. Parco Dora could host all manifestations of diversity that created complaints and conflicts with urban residents in the remaining areas of Turin. The urban governance enacted within and through the area of Parco Dora aims to pacify the city space, with the consequence of creating compartmentalised areas characterised by an emerging and pervasive regulation of conduct within its space *and* in the surrounding regenerating neighbourhoods. The creation of defined urban spaces where difference is legitimated, and accumulated, creates *the elective* places for multi and inter- cultural encounters, and reinforces a vision that does not consider the possibility of locating the city as the site of such encounters, conflicts, relationships and sociabilities (see also Glick Schiller, 2012).

I contend that the discussion proposed in this chapter so far allows the reader to consider and contextualize in more depth how the emerging, pervasive regulation of bodies and spaces enacted through contemporary processes of urban restructuring in Turin (Sim and Coleman, 2000; Coleman, 2004, 2005, 2009; Silk, 2004, 2007; Silk and Andrews, 2008; McGuirk and Dowling, 2009; Sigler and Wachman, 2015) has been negotiated by participants. The following section aims to explore the participants' negotiations that I began to address in chapter 4, highlighting how these negotiations responded to the spatial dynamics and processes described in this chapter. I contend that uncovering the negotiations of marginal groups can provide a role for researchers to expose the city building processes that render these stories irrelevant and unintelligible (Coleman, 2005, p. 143). At the same time this approach highlights how the participants' practices addressed processes of self-fashioning and citizenship.

5.7 RE-NEGOTIATING THE MARGINS: CAPOEIRA AND PARKOUR AS SPATIAL COUNTER-CONDUCT

“Well, that annoys me a bit... we are always been told to move away, “you can't jump here”, “no, you can't do this here” when the spaces we train are abso-fucking-lutely public [...] If in a public space one person, or a police man comes to me and tell me “you can't do that” if I'm not doing anything wrong, that really annoys me!” (Karim)

Although occasionally incorporated in Turin's cosmopolitan festive parades, the participants' contested practices did not fit completely and uncritically with Turin's dominant urban discourses. Capoeira and parkour's ambivalent positioning in the processes addressed illuminated the disputed and partial consensus about urban renewal in Turin, and revealed the axis of difference and exclusion these process of urban transformation produced. As such, micro-conflicts, negotiations and tensions regarding everyday leisure practices within the context of urban restructuring represented meaningful sites to observe and explain processes of urban

regeneration beyond the planners' and city council's claims and perspectives, and beyond the reified perspective of an all-encompassing neoliberalism (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009). As participants engaged in practices with no specific or elective playgrounds but the city, they negotiated urban governance rationalities and processes of conduct of conduct through an ambivalent and tactical use of spaces that did not aim to deny or overturn the power dynamics in which they were immersed. In fact, these power relationships sometimes enabled the participants to glean contingent material and social benefits. Rather, the participants used the cracks and fissures of the emerging urban organisation to navigate dynamics of inclusion/exclusion, following their aims of socialization, recognition and self-fashioning:

“Samba: Marcos was saying this thing that they are trying to group us all at the [Parco] Dora, but we always look for new places, because even if it's not bad, the [Parco] Dora is not enough... they say it's made for us, but we didn't ask for that...

Karim: Yes, they are trying to close us there, but I don't think they can really...

Hugo: Yes, but even if they can, we always look for new places, you can give us as many as you want, but we will look for others...

Karim: It's not even the issue that you [the authorities] have to give me a place, because we don't play tennis or golf, we don't need apposite places, and I am not a thief or a thug, I am not doing anything wrong, so I want to choose where to train... I can even go to Parco Dora or in a gym, if I think it's useful for my training, but that's up to me to decide, not them, I want to be able to choose where to make my own training...” (Focus group, 3rd September 2014)

The quotes and excerpts presented in this section highlighted the contested and political aspects of the participants' unrequested practices within Turin's “post-political” spaces⁵⁰ (Swyngedouw, 2009, 2011; McLeod, 2011; Rosol, 2014). In

⁵⁰ The concept of the post-political and post-democratic city identifies a replacement of debate, disagreement and dissent in current urban governance with “a series of technologies of governing that fuse around consensus, agreement, and technocratic management” (Swyngedouw, 2009, p. 604). This post-political consensus denies the “political”, neutralises dissent and de-politicises deeply antagonistic social relations. It reduces fundamental political

particular, the participants' critical discussion of the spatial and power dynamics related to Parco Dora highlighted how their practices could be addressed as an example of *counter-conduct*, intended as “the struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others” (Foucault, 2007 [1978], p. 201). The notion of counter-conduct, intended as “diffused and subdued forms of resistance” (Foucault, 2007 [1978], p. 200), enabled me to capture the participants' daily contestation of urban politics and social/spatial ordering that went beyond open, or organised protest, and direct confrontation (Rosol, 2014, p. 71):

“The way we respond to people or police harassing us is not that to directly confront them, with some you can't because they are police, with others you don't simply want to go down at their level, also because it may happen something you'd regret for the rest of your life [...] if we wanted to be like “The Warriors” [cult movie about youth gangs fighting each other in New York] we wouldn't do capoeira or parkour, but that's who we are. If we started a fight every time someone harassed us, now we'd make this interview in jail, you know that every street fight when the police come they first arrest the 'foreigners' and then ask what happened” (Ricardo)

“As a matter of fact, what we do is not that different from what slaves did through capoeira, they couldn't directly fight back abuses, neither had weapons nor voice, they couldn't say 'Hey, you can't do that!'. They endured until they found the right time, the distraction, the crack to free themselves. Somehow I think we do something similar, we wait for the right time to use some spaces, like when they are less crowded, when the shops are closed, or we simply find our own spaces where basically nobody else go, at the end of the day we don't want trouble, we have enough already...” (Samba)

“We go to the centre sometimes, or in some other posh spaces, but there is more a hit and run thing, to bust some moves, see the people drop their jaws and then disappear” (Cosmin) (Figures 32-33)

conflict to either a “para-political” integration of diverse opinions “in arrangements of impotent participation” and consensual “good” governance” (Swyngedouw, 2011, p. 371), or to “ultra-politics”, often in the form of outbursts of urban violence (Swyngedouw, 2011).



Figure 34 (above). Hit and run jumps in Turin shopping district.



Figure 35. Night training at the exit of a mall (Photos Karim and Abdelrazak)

The notion of counter-conduct highlighted another aspect of the participants' practices, which is the *productive* aspect of their negotiations. As highlighted by Ricardo and Samba's quotes, the participants usually decided not to directly or thoroughly confront those contesting their presence in urban public spaces.

Conscious of the power imbalances characterizing their presence in these spaces, the participants discovered hidden public spaces to train undisturbed or chose times when more visible spaces were less frequented. The participants enacted their practices “beyond the purely negative act of disobedience” (Davidson, 2011, p. 27 in Rosol, 2014, p. 76) by not denying and directly challenging power relations. Instead, they expressed their “freedom to think (and act) otherwise” (Cadman, 2010, p. 550 in Rosol, 2014, p. 76), by choosing, and then creating, times and spaces that suited their needs for self-improvement and socialization. Apart from casual exceptions, which were more hit-and-run performances than actual training, the participants often chose for their practice spaces and temporalities that were marginal in relation to the rhythms and epicentres of dominant practices of entertainment and consumption (i.e. the driveway near McDonalds restaurants, empty parking lots at malls and cinemas, or multi-storey car parks) and Turin's renovated areas (i.e. pillars and foundations of supra-elevated walking paths near Parco Dora, peripheral public areas/parks, or abandoned factories). Thus, not aiming to overthrow the power relations that influenced their spatial conducts, the participants instead mobilised and exerted their power to create opportunities for self-improvement, and socialization within the cracks and fissures, caves and passages of Turin's spatial order.



Figure 36. Capoeira Roda in a parking lot (Photo Karim)

“Take the driveway at that building behind the McDonalds. For passers-by they are just useless, just a driveway, or maybe just part of the background, while we spend hours jumping, slamming, sliding on them, there's a part of us on any of these walls” (Marcos)



Figure 37. Training in an abandoned factory (Photo Karim)

“Why we enter abandoned factories? Because we look for spaces... for example at Parco Dora where everybody trains it gets overcrowded, and it becomes difficult to train, here at the bathtubs is amazing, there are opportunities to do movements you can't do elsewhere, but here is the signpost “forbidden entrance”. Therefore we also use abandoned buildings to overcome all these limitations...” (Bogdan, emphasis added) (Figure 37)



Figure 38. Sunday training in a car park. (Photo Bogdan)

“The opportunity that an empty, or multi-storey car park, or an

abandoned building give you is that you are in a not in a place where people go, so it's less likely anyone will come to bother you, you can train as much you want" (Cosmin) (Figure 38)

As it is possible to discern from these quotes, the participants' bodily negotiations did not just allow them to navigate the power relationships influencing their movements in Turin cityscape, but also enabled them to *create spaces* at the margins of Turin's urban renewal according to their needs for socialization, improvement and self-fashioning.

Such contested, and sometimes invisible, re-definition of urban spaces at the temporal and spatial fringes of regenerated Turin's spaces echoed the creation of what Soja defined as Thirdspace (1996): a place where real and imagined, conceived and lived spaces coexist, and where "(spatial) knowledge becomes (spatial) action in a field of unevenly (spatial) developed power (Soja, 1996, p. 31). The work of Soja, who drew on Foucault and Lefebvre amongst others, underlined the possibilities offered by a re-definition, and transformation of spatial, and social, margins by those who find themselves excluded within contemporary contexts of uneven spatial development. The participants' spatial counter-conducts and negotiations contingently and situationally responded to and navigated an emerging surveillance assemblage that, through the "normalisation" of an accepted majority, and spatial norms, tackled social anxieties via the exclusion of "problem" bodies defined by their "undesirable" or "dangerous" class, racial, or gendered diversity (Bigo, 2006; Manley and Silk, 2014).

Subsequently, I contend that the participants' situational use of capoeira and parkour as counter-conducts through which to exercise their power to think (and act) differently, created the possibility of using and re-defining the in-between, marginal spaces according to their desires of self-fashioning, socialization and place-making. Furthermore, although not consciously, participants' creative engagement with urban spaces, and rhythms, disrupted the established time-related

uses of urban space (that, for example, make “normal” and “reasonable” the attendance of areas around malls, or other commercial venues only during opening hours). Participants' irreverent and spontaneous engagement with space, and time thus challenged the “supremacy of space over time” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 95), or the spatial norms that regulate, and measure, the work, consumption, and life rhythms of urban residents.

This element has added a further layer to the last chapter's discussion, which highlighted how the participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour reflected a diasporic cosmopolitanism (Glick Schiller et al. 2011; Glick Schiller, 2015) that underlined the domain of commonalities emerging across individuals of various backgrounds, but who shared similar social positioning and desires. While the last chapter highlighted the bodily means through which the participants' negotiated stereotyped and marginalizing categories by engaging with capoeira and parkour, this chapter added a spatial dimension. As I described in this chapter, the participants' (diasporic) identification as capoeiras and traceurs provided opportunities for them to navigate and negotiate spaces of inclusion and exclusion in contemporary Turin. Within the arenas of Turin's spectacles of diversity and multiculturalism, being a capoeira or a traceur enabled the participants to gain temporary recognition, and small economic benefits. However, it also contributed to reinforce rationalities that compartmentalised the city, defined acceptable and un-acceptable difference, and attributed essentialised identities and established prerogatives to immigrant bodies within Turin's urban, and social, landscape. Nevertheless, the ethnographic material showed that the participants were also able to negotiate these spatial power relations and rationalities. Drawing on the ambivalence, flexibility and adaptability of capoeira and parkour, participants sought, redefined and created spaces that provided them the means to pursue their desires for socialization, self-fashioning and belonging at the margins of Turin's regenerated areas and urban peripheries. The contested nature of the participants' counter-conducts revealed hidden negotiations, or *micro-politics* (Mayer and

Boudreau, 2012), which are often overlooked but nevertheless present in our cities (Coleman, 2005; Rosol, 2014). Furthermore, the focus on the participants' contested spatial negotiations in Turin's public spaces could represent a novel perspective to highlight how the reciprocal construction, regulation and organization of spaces and subjectivities (Rosol, 2014; Manley and Silk, 2014) reflected on the shifting meanings that the concept of citizenship is taking within our contemporary cities. In the concluding section I address the participants' negotiation of (contingent) citizenship within Turin's spectacular spaces.

5.8 TURIN'S POLITICS OF (IN)VISIBILITY AND (CONTINGENT) CITIZENSHIP

“I came to train with Hicham, Karim and Marcos in a relatively affluent suburban area in the far south of Turin which looks like a small town in the countryside. It is a spot that Karim remembered going to with another guy from the area (the guy is not here today) [...] As expected, our presence is noticed right away, some people stop to watch fascinated or curious. A mother even goes to call her son whom, she says, 'always talks about what we do and would like to try it, if we want to teach him'. Others remain to watch with a far more vigilant and concerned expression. Almost two hours into training, a car stops by and an angry man comes out shouting that we are scaring his old mother, who lives in a house which surrounding wall we have been training on the for the last half hour. Apparently she thought we were thieves of some sort trying to break in her place (sic!). He adds we should have some respect as we are *not even from here* (not sure whether he implied with “here” the neighbourhood or whether it was a reference to our “exotic” appearances). A group of youngsters comes by to listen and enjoy the show. We apologise to the man for inadvertently scaring his mother, explain we were training, and move to a couple of meters to train on another wall (which is not a house perimeter). I think I understand a bit more now what the others told me in the last months about similar events. The first sensation is that the fun is over, the way the man addressed us and all the discussion just broke the training mood. But on the other hand I feel that by going away we would admit we were doing something illegitimate or dodgy (something the man was somehow implying in his words), while we were just training. Also, I imagine how being said to behave as one that is *not from here* (whatever it means) can sound way heavier and

judgmental for any young man who has always felt the pressing weight of looks and words scanning him everywhere he went. The group of youngsters who stopped by when the man yelled at us stayed to 'watch us' when he left. They did nothing, but stayed very close to us, basically on our feet, and commenting things like 'look now how he falls'. The man in the car also patrols the area by driving slowly around the place where we are now training. We keep training almost another hour, basically just in spite all of this, as if to defend the idea that we can stay here too, but it is evident that the vibes are not positive at all.” (Fieldwork diary, 18th April 2015)

Approaching citizenship as a spatial process (Secor, 2004) this final section will address the shifting and situational meaning of this construct within the renovated, spectacular spaces of contemporary Turin and through the participants' public practices within, and at the margins, of these spaces. Several contributions in the literature have underlined the relationship between the actors', or groups', recognition as members of city public life and recognition of their membership in a society (Mitchell, 1995; Lefebvre, 1996; Secor, 2004).

As Secor (2004, p. 353) has argued drawing on Lefebvre (1996), the everyday life-spaces of the city—its neighbourhoods, parks, streets, and buildings—are thus both the medium through which citizenship struggles take place and, frequently, what is at stake in the struggle. However, citizenship has increasingly been seen not merely as a legal category, but as a set of discourses and practices that are translated unevenly across social groups and local contexts (Secor, 2004, p. 354).

Authors studying migration in contemporary cities have considered the shifting meanings of citizenship by addressing migrants', and their children's status in super-diverse urban areas in terms of *denizenship* (Rosbrook-Thompson, 2014) and *contingent citizenship* (Bohem, 2011). Rosbrook-Thompson (2014) conducted ethnographic research in London with a group of “first-, second-, and third-generation migrants” between 17 and 28 years old playing in a local football team. The author defined *denizenship as a mindset* that united young men of various

origins despite their legal status (of citizens or denizens). In defining what characterized denizenship, the author mentioned the rejection of nationhood and a renouncement or refusal of citizenship and attendant duties and obligations. From Rosbrook-Thompson's (2014) discussion the participants' strong attachment to their neighbourhood locality emerged as opposed to a feeling of estrangement towards the remaining spaces of the city. The author also highlighted how most of the participants' belonged to the “precariat” (Wacquant, 2008, 2009) underclass; their common involvement in cash-in-hand informal jobs and/or the underground economy represented a unifying element for young men of different origins, associated with a similar social positioning and a common interest, football. The young men in Rosbrook-Thompson's study travelled little within the city space and beyond “following the trends of those living in pockets of urban deprivation” (2014, p. 10). Rosbrook-Thompson's contribution provided an ethnographic account of those “pathologised” bodies excluded by the emerging spatial formation of post-Olympic London (Manley and Silk, 2014). Furthermore, his case study echoed some contextual elements in this research, such as participants' belonging to the urban “precariat”.

However, within Turin's research context, the participants' highlighted other elements of their practices and “mindset” towards their feelings of membership and belonging within the spaces of the city. Despite the “trends of those living in pockets of urban deprivation” the participants' in this study travelled relatively frequently according to their limited economic and transportation means (usually bicycles and public transport), to reach peers training in specific areas, attend events or visit other groups of capoeiras and traceurs around Turin and in nearby cities:

“The other week we went to Ivrea [a small town 53kms from Turin] to visit a small group of traceurs. It's very nice there and we trained some movements and acrobatics in a park by the lake, Abdelrazak and Bogdan even bathed! The guys there appreciated the visit, but they said Ivrea is an awful place to train, you know, it's small and quite rich, and

everybody harass them every time they train in the open!” (Karim).

Similar to respondents in Rosbrook-Thomson's study, the participants never expressed explicit allegiance to Italian nationhood, rather a kind of ambivalent and disillusioned love/hate towards their country of adoption (as seen in chapter 4). However, they actively seized all opportunities to engage other social groups and communities within the so-called civil-society:

“Me and Karim attend from a couple of years this group of people, more or less our age, who meet every fortnight in an association not far from where my father lives. We go there to discuss about things that happen to us, or issues like fighting mafia, or integration, or racism. We like to go there because we discuss the way we see things and we confront each other. There you can discuss things that usually you don't talk about in your everyday life and also it is a way to know more what's happening around you [...] We don't go there like every time they meet, but when they knew we were doing capoeira and parkour they asked us to show and teach something in a community event they did in summer in the public gardens they help to manage... that was amazing, people appreciated what we did, but even more I felt I was giving back something through what I knew.” (Marcos)

As he stated in the last chapter, Marcos will be able to apply for Italian citizenship only in 2016. However, his quote highlighted that some participants manifested a significant interest in being part of and contributing to an idea of community that went beyond the groups of fellow capoeiras/traceurs, enlarged family or their community of origin, despite not expressing an allegiance to the State. Marcos and Karim's occasional engagement with a grass-roots community organization run by young people reflected most of the participants' desire to be rooted in the place where they had lived most, if not all of, their lives, to be recognised as members, and to contribute to it, even if “just” by showing the value and meaning of their favourite practices.

I contend that the participants' tentative and ambivalent desire to belong and be recognised as members of Turin's public and community life could be related to

another concept that addresses the shifting meaning of citizenship in contemporary super-diverse cities, such as Bohem's (2011) notion of contingent citizenship. According to Bohem (2011), contingent citizenship addresses a (national) membership that is *partial*, *conditional* and *relational*. It includes citizens who are culturally, socially politically or physically excluded from the nation, as well as denizens who are de facto members by virtue of their employment/education, civic engagement, and political participation.

The notion of contingent citizenship seems to grasp the participants' shifting and relational membership and hierarchies of belonging as manifested and negotiated in Turin's public spaces. Moreover, contingent citizenship highlights how the idea of membership in the public community and life in Turin's public spaces was not generally related to participants' legal status. Instead, the participants' contingent citizenship was constructed in situational interactions and situations by way of their practices, and phenotypes:

“So that time we decided to go to a club, we never went to one, and for once we decided to try to do as normal people do [laughs]! Well, we are in the queue and I go to ask something to the security, and he goes like 'no, you can't enter' I ask him why, and he asks back 'where are you from?' I was puzzled 'what do you mean?!' he asked me to show my ID to see if it said I was Moroccan, so I told him, look I'm Italian if you want to know, but he told me 'No, you can't enter', then I couldn't hold myself, I didn't care how big was he, even if I ended up badly I didn't care, luckily the others stopped me, but I felt... you know, excluded [...] especially because nobody apart from us said nothing, the guy takes the liberty to let me out just because he thinks 'Moroccan=troublemaker' and everybody it's fine with it, they think it's normal, it's right [...] because then, it's not that if I have Italian citizenship I am Italian, no! Because here as it is you always have to prove it, you have to underscore it more than anything else” (Karim)

“You can have a paper saying you are an Italian citizen, but if your face does not show it, you are just as any other straniero (foreigner)” (Samba)

Although referring to a relatively peculiar situation, about entrance to a private

club, Karim's anecdote was often cited by participants as an explicit example of the dynamics of spatial and social exclusion they experienced across Turin's social spaces. These quotes explicitly narrated the insecurity and mobility of participants' claims to an urban presence and membership in everyday life, thus graphically representing the idea of a contingent citizenship. According to Bohem (2011) children of immigrants often embody this conditional and unstable relationship with the nation state (Bohem, 2011, p. 166), which is characterised by a tenuous form of membership that creates blurred subjects who can be defined as either citizens-alien/alien-citizens (p. 167). Furthermore, the participants' accounts and the notion of contingent citizenship articulated how the shifting hierarchies of belonging (Back et al. 2012) that the participants experienced daily became concrete and took shape within the different, and differentiating, spaces of early 21st century Turin. I look to Manley and Silk (2014) to address the relationship between emerging forms of surveillance, spatial and social transformations, and contingent citizenship in Turin. Manley and Silk (2014) drew on Bigo's conceptualisation of the ban-opticon (2006, 2011) as an assemblage of defence and internal security processes placing emphasis upon the "management of unease" (Bigo, 2006, p. 6) and determining both *who* and *what* must be surveilled (Manley and Silk, 2014, p. 363). In Turin, the permanent state of anxiety related to an economic recession, crime/insecurity, undesirable difference/terrorism contribute to justify and normalise a pervasive use of surveillance on a "small number of people" (Bigo, 2006, p. 35), such as the urban poor and immigrants, who are increasingly framed as "too many" (see also Skey, 2010, p. 719). In this emerging assemblage integrating surveillance, celebration/fear of diversity and market oriented development, immigrant bodies became crucial *objects* of social control, since their presence simultaneously evoked the worst fears and highest aspirations, and desires, of Turin's regeneration process. As such, the city progressive image of multiculturalism, spoused by cultural entrepreneurs, gentrifiers and leaderships, celebrated an apparently unproblematic diversity and inclusivity that was in fact *contingent* upon the capacity of immigrant bodies to adapt to established prerogatives as domesticated and (in)visible others in Turin's regenerated spaces

(Hage, 1998; Sayad, 2002; Palmas, 2009, 2010; Skey, 2010, 2011; Manley and Silk, 2014). Therefore, this process contributed to create a division between the bodies whose class, gender, and race made them belong “without question” (Skey, 2010, p. 730) in Turin's regenerating spaces and those whose membership in Turin's public life, and polity, was *contingent* on compliance to acceptable forms of ethnicity, namely those contributing as consumers, or as “consumed”, to the emerging constitution of a cosmopolitan Turin.

I contend that a politics of (in)visibility has shaped the visually-obsessed “renaissance” of contemporary Turin. This politics of (in)visibility expressed a concern with hiding and governing social issues (i.e. poverty, immigration, social exclusion), or redefining them as criminogenic, while, paradoxically, simultaneous spectacles of civic and (multi)cultural illumination were being developed (Coleman, 2005, p. 142). Through this “hegemony of vision” (Zukin, 1991), the value and membership of human activity in Turin's public spaces has been increasingly assessed using performative criteria that inevitably cast shadows over other spaces and activities that are not deemed suitable for public consumption (Coleman, 2005, p. 143), or not representative of an emerging “normalised majority” (Manley and Silk, 2014, p. 361). The widely accepted contingent membership attributed to the participants' bodies and practices in Turin's regenerating areas in this case made the constitution of ubiquitous checkpoints (Balibar, 2004) *necessary*, and thus *normal* and *invisible*. These checkpoints involved both security forces and “concerned” groups of citizens who controlled, regulated, hindered, and enabled the participants' movements and practices. These considerations illuminated how the participants' perception of owing a contingent citizenship across various social spaces in Turin emplaced and located the shifting hierarchies of belonging that the participants addressed in the last chapter.

Underlining the spatial constituencies of the participants' contingent citizenship (Bohem, 2011) and its relationship with contemporary surveillance orientations

(Manley and Silk, 2014; Bauman and Lyon, 2013) and urban regeneration processes is important to provide elements of discussion about the shifting meanings and stakes of citizenship, civil liberties, and social, and urban, justice.

The ethnographic material discussed in this section showed how (contingent) citizenship was situationally exerted or limited in Turin's public spaces, beyond the participants' legal status as citizens or denizens. Acknowledging that urban spaces operate as a kind of social mirror (Borden, 2001, p. 102), I contend that the selective and situational exercise of contingent citizenship reflected Turin's emergent spatial and social order. Despite the Turin municipality and development agencies' progressive claims of community cohesion, multiculturalism, care and social inclusivity, the ethnographic material showed how the participants' faced ubiquitous checkpoints (Balibar, 2004). The pervasive regulation of their practices and movements dramatically influenced the participants' right and possibility to attend and use public spaces not only on the basis on the supposed (il)legitimacy of their practices, but also on rationales of surveillance of (un)domesticated, suspicious, unwelcome immigrant bodies (Bigo, 2006, 2011; Manley and Silk, 2014). The analysis and discussion of participants' practices was therefore fundamental for underlining the thick entanglement of body, space, identity and (contingent) citizenship within regenerating spaces of contemporary cities. By addressing the post-political spaces (Rosol, 2014) of contemporary Turin, discussing the practices and rationalities that are informing the city rebranding and governing its anxieties, and the negotiations enacted by young, disenfranchised, men of migrant origins through practices such as capoeira and parkour, it is possible to ferret out local inequalities that are thickly related to global processes (Bigo, 2006, 2011; Manley and Silk, 2014). Seen from the perspectives and negotiations of young men of migrant origin in Turin, the checkpoints and barriers defending the Fortress Europe from the “invasion” of thousands of people do not end at its militarised borders, but are reproduced daily in the post-political spaces of our cosmopolitan and super-diverse cities (see also Bigo, 2006, 2011; Balibar,

2004, p. 109; Back et al. 2012).

5.9 CONCLUSIONS

The focus on the bodily and spatial practices of capoeira and parkour in this chapter enabled me to illuminate both the spatial processes and forms that characterize the materialization of an urban order in Turin, and the counter-conducts (Foucault, 2007 [1978]; Rosol, 2014) that the participants enacted to constitute themselves as subjects and as contingent members of the city public life and polity.

Observing the participants' contested use of capoeira and parkour illuminated the individual (as means of self-constitution), social (as means of socialization and belonging) and political (as means of contested exercise and negotiation of power) dimensions of their bodily practices. By framing the participants' practices as counter-conduct, the discussion developed in this chapter aimed to highlight the ambivalence of their bodily and spatial negotiations, and to acknowledge their inclusion within a network of power relations and discourses that both enabled and constrained them. Furthermore, by addressing the incoherent and multifaceted components of Turin's neoliberal restructuring, this chapter provided a critical analysis that unpacked dynamics and consequences of this ongoing process. The discussion in this chapter illuminated the widening social divide obscured by self-celebrating discourses of social cohesion and economic regeneration (Coleman, 2005; Manley and Silk, 2014), while also highlighting negotiation and counter-conducts representing possible alternatives beyond reified and determinative readings of neoliberalism (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009). Drawing from these leads and aiming to elaborate further on the mutual constitution of body/space/self enacted by participants through capoeira and parkour, the following chapter will deepen the breadth of the discussion. In chapter 6, I will interrogate the participants' ambivalent practices in relation to the current neoliberal context of

pervasive and diffused health imperatives, consumption/lifestyle choices and individualizing moralities of self-fashioning.

6. (NEOLIBERAL) TECHNOLOGIES OF THE SELF? CAPOEIRA AND PARKOUR BETWEEN INDIVIDUALIZED UTOPIAS AND TRANSFORMATIVE TENSIONS

6.1 CHASING A DREAM EYES OPEN WIDE: INTRODUCING COSMIN

The discussion in this study so far has focused on the bodily and spatial negotiations that the participants enacted through their engagement with capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces. In this chapter, I will critically explore the discursive, and moral, conditions of possibility in which the participants enacted their practices and process of self-fashioning, to address the implications of their identity journey. The development of this perspective brings together and to the fore the reciprocal constitution of bodies and spaces that the focus on capoeira and parkour enabled in this study. What follows is a critical discussion of the participants' negotiations within neoliberal moral imperatives of autonomy, self-fulfilment and accountability. Cosmin's testimonial narrative presented next, touches the main issues that this final chapter addresses. This thin, agile and always moving young man, painstakingly crossing Turin urban spaces with a borrowed video-camera, was a figure who struck me from the beginning of the research. His passion about directing and making videos, was comparable only to his daily engagement in capoeira and parkour, which made him an important and emblematic figure in this research. Cosmin's controversial, far-reaching dreams and his stubborn, restless pursuit of them made him the focus of a subtle, ironic, yet sincere attention and admiration amongst the participants. Most of them related to and shared his aspirations of mobility and self-realisation. Cosmin's ambitious aspirations of self-fulfilment and mobility, and his engagement with capoeira and parkour related strongly in his narratives, and highlighted the crucial role of the physical in reproducing, and as I will show sometimes challenging, the operations

of bio-power through the valorisation of specific readings and meanings of the body (see also Francombe et al., 2014). By addressing Cosmin and the participants' voices, it emerged that for several young men in the field specific body-work related to capoeira and parkour was deeply entangled with visions of what it meant, and what it took, to be “successful” in a neoliberal, late-capitalist present. Through Cosmin and other participants' voices and experiences I will address some of the moral (and physical) characteristics that the participants in the field aspired to and sought to replicate in order to possibly partake in a future of social mobility, power and success. The discussion shows how this was in an unequal exchange between an individualised and utopian freedom and political matters of social equality (see also McNay, 2009). However, the same accounts and experiences will provide elements to explore the contradictions, tensions and unexpected de-tours that these aspirations took when the participants' poaching and re-appropriations of neoliberal moral imperatives clashed with (instead of complying and fitting with) the emerging social, spatial and temporal logics of Turin's neoliberal rebranding.

6.1.1 “If I have to tell you who is Cosmin...”

Well, if I have to tell you who is Cosmin nowadays, I'd say he is a simple, motivated person who is trying to get ahead in his life, socially as well as in his everyday... a guy of 20 who lives with his sister, mother... and her partner... However, if I had to tell you how he was some time ago, well, things would change a bit... when I was younger I was different, I was very nervous, didn't shut my mouth if something or someone annoyed me, even if that could cost me some beatings, I was also, well, I am still a bit like this even now, arrogant, rebellious, not very keen in listening what people had to tell me. Things changed a bit thanks to someone who helped me a lot and whom I lost just before coming here...

I arrived in Italy with my mother and my sister when I was 12. Actually, my mother

had been living and working in Italy for some years and when I was 12 she managed to bring me and my younger sister⁵¹. I reckon one of the reasons why we came to Italy was that we were getting older and for my grandparents it was getting hard to keep us in line. The only one who managed to do it, and helped me a bit to improve my attitude was my uncle from my mother's side. I was really affectionate to him, but unfortunately he died in an accident a few months before I came to Italy.

Italy for me meant a new life, a new opportunity. For example in Romania I wasn't making much of an effort in school, but when I came here I liked it more, even though the first year was very difficult because of the language. I guess what I liked more of school in Italy was that the relationship with teachers was less distant and authoritative than in Romania, you could talk to them and they were very engaged with our project works, this especially in Secondary School. I would have liked to study more after Secondary School, I wanted to attend a Technology College, become a fine electrician and possibly work on movie-sets. But I was already 17 because of the year I lost when I arrived here⁵² and, with my mum working and maintaining me and my sister, I ended up doing a one year school certificate as electrician which basically provided the sufficient level to be accepted to work as an apprentice electrician in a building site. So that's what I did, and as expected I ended up working off-the-books for some building contractor for a while. I did no electrician work though, just heavy shit, you know, like moving material and digging traces in the walls for the real electricians to come in and do their job. I did so for a while and didn't really have a chance to save any money or even learn a job, so in the meanwhile I started to work as a bar tender, no contract as well though: just a bit less of dust.

⁵¹ From the 1st January 2007, the year Cosmin and his sister were able to join their mother in Italy, Romania became a member of the European Union, thus its citizens gained freedom of movement within the Schengen area.

⁵² Usually the children of migrants who do not speak the Italian language are enrolled in school in one, sometimes two, classes below their age level. This means for many students of migrant origins finish secondary school with significant delays that, together with other socio-economic and demographic variables, further influence the youth's educational choices.

6.1.2 “I am an electrician who works as a bartender and dreams to be a movie director”

So here I am, an electrician who works as a bartender and dreams to be a movie director... My ultimate dream is to make a movie, you know, like Michael Bay⁵³. He uses all these crazy action scenes and framings I love to watch! In the free time we do some short action scenes with the others, you know, fake fights, escapes... It is good fun and everybody participates a lot, I am learning few things on that, and also doing our video I'm learning quite some stuff on editing and shooting from Andrea and Shahrzad⁵⁴. I'd like to make my own movie, and I started to write a script, but it's quite difficult. I never did something like that and I'm trying to get information online or talking with the guys I knew through you⁵⁵ well, it's difficult. But I'd really like to make one, even a short-movie and then send it to Mediaset⁵⁶, or to some movie production companies to see if they are interested in financing something bigger... You know, all my family thinks I am crazy, or some kind of stupid. My mother says I have to grow up, think about serious things in life, take any kind of job to start, be a hard-worker and make my way forward, these are the most important things for them. Also most of my friends who work say to me, you know “get any job, work your ass off, save some money to buy a better camera or make a course” stuff like that, but it's not that easy, the jobs I did so far were all so badly paid, when I got paid at all... you know, I get what my family tells me, but in my situation it just feels they are not supporting me to achieve my goals, but they are simply bringing me down where they are... I mean, they surrendered to the idea that it's fine whatever you get...

⁵³ American director of blockbuster movies such as Armageddon (1998), Pearl Harbour (2001) and the Transformers series (2007, 2009, 2011)

⁵⁴ The two video-makers involved in the participatory video.

⁵⁵ Cosmin refers to a director, audio-technician and camera-man who lead a workshop on video-making I organized during the research with the support of Frantz Fanon Association

⁵⁶ Mediaset is the main Italian private broadcaster, founded and owned by former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi.

6.1.3 “You fall and you rise again”

My story with parkour is interesting because when I was in Romania, you know, I often got in troubles, lot of times the “bullies” were chasing me to “give me a lesson”, and as I am small, fast and agile I used to climb small walls or fences quite easily and get rid of them. So, when I came here one day we were playing “cops and robbers” and I was doing my usual moves and people asked me if I was doing parkour, didn't know anything about that but I started to get informed and then I saw a group of people training nearby Parco Dora and joined them. Then I met through my sister Razvan and few others who were also crazy for capoeira, you know, all the singing, the kicking, the acrobatics and I joined them, as basically, apart from the community project trainings, they basically trained all the time in the same places I hung out and trained parkour... so that's how I started training both. I think we were all very keen to learn new things, and it didn't matter much where they came from. You know, I combine a lot capoeira and parkour because I think both were very useful for me in many ways and, you know, training one I guess helped to do better the other. Like for example, I think parkour helped me a lot to control that thing I couldn't really hold off, and in a sense capoeira also added to it with its idea of being able always to make yourself comfortable out of your comfort zone, it really helped me to overcome my fears and that happened mostly by learning acrobatic movements... When I started to train parkour I wasn't confident, I was scared to make longer jumps or to land from higher grounds, so training capoeira helped me a lot for it. I think both capoeira and parkour are about flow, technique, and confidence, they just work these characteristics in different ways and they apply them in different situations. Like for example, if a group of people want to harm me and I'm alone I prefer to use parkour and go away, but if I am with somebody who can't run away that easily I'll stay and fight because I don't leave a friend behind. Training capoeira helped me a lot to think and take decisions in moments of danger, when it actually happened that people wanted to harm me or my friends... most people around here think that you have to

be scary, to be dangerous to be respected, but truth is it doesn't take much to do something you'll regret the rest of your life and that will create more problems than the ones you were trying to avoid... so, I guess now I try to evaluate the situation before reacting. For me these were the ways through which I saw it was possible to change, to always be better, and made me realize I have always to struggle with myself to be better. Capoeira and parkour have the same aim, they just pursue it in different ways, for someone capoeira is just capoeira, you know, a physical activity. For someone is a lifestyle. for someone else a way to always test oneself. Parkour for someone is a hobby, for others a way to overcome life obstacles. Everybody interprets them [capoeira and parkour] as they see fit, and then there are people like me, and some others, we use this continuous self-improving as a way to face our problems, because no matter how much you escape, problems will always come to meet you. You know, there's no other way around it? Isn't it? You can't do anything else than going forward in life, you have to go forward, and to do that you have to be better day after day.

6.2 BODIES, SPACES, AND MORALITIES IN THE NEOLIBERAL CULTURAL PRESENT

“For me Capoeira is a way to test myself, as everybody in their daily lives they have to solve problems overcome obstacles, the same for me, I train to overcome my limits. If in a training there's some movement I can't do, I train and train until I get it, there's nobody who can do this for me, and there are no excuses, if I didn't make it, it's a question of how much I trained to get it” (Dragan)

“So, that's why I associate parkour... to my daily life. I mean, in our everyday life we face difficulties, problems, we try to overcome them in a way, as in parkour we learn to overcome obstacles... step by step, gradually” (Cosmin)

In the last two chapters I addressed how the participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour represented a way to simultaneously displace, and reproduce,

ethnically charged social categories and gendered prerogatives. Furthermore, I observed how the participants engaged with capoeira and parkour as spatial counter-conduct (Foucault, 2007 [1978]) enabling them to situationally negotiate the shifting hierarchies of belonging shaped by processes of cosmopolitan rebranding and neoliberal urban governance in Turin's post-political spaces. In this last chapter I extend my reflection to interrogate the participants' practices in relation to the reciprocal constitution of bodies and spaces minutely enacted in our daily lives within pervasive moral imperatives of self-fashioning, autonomy, and accountability. Turin's neoliberal process of transformation represent a far from coherent assemblage of competing practices and discourses (Mc Quirk and Downing, 2009) that nevertheless shapes Turin's spatial/social cityscape and definitions of citizenship, and that influences the identification of the bodies living, moving and consuming in the city spaces (Harvey, 2006; Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2011; Silk and Andrews, 2008, 2012; Manley and Silk, 2014). In this chapter I explore the neoliberal condition not just as an (incoherent and manifold) economic and political program, but also through the lens of the desires, aspirations and moralities conveyed through the minute, daily aspects of our lives, from health/body management to work, consumption and leisure. A number of scholars have highlighted the nexus between the micro-politics, bio-pedagogies of health and the body and contemporary neoliberal moral imperatives of autonomy and self-accountability (Markula and Pringle, 2006; Rich, 2010, 2011; Harrington and Fullagar, 2013; Francombe et al., 2014). Acknowledging these considerations, and based on Cosmin's narrative, it emerged that the participants' practices and negotiations did not just represent a means to displace and negotiate unequal social hierarchies and contextualised processes, but they also represented technologies through which the participants negotiated and endorsed specific ethical and moral representations of the self, in the words of Lois McNay, a “self as enterprise” (2009).

Therefore in this chapter I explore further the intersection between *power*, *modes*

of existence and the self (Read, 2009, p. 25), and unpack and articulate how the participants' practices constantly held together structural conditions and agentic instances (See Dilts, 2011; Pavidilis, 2012; Francombe, 2014) within the historical, social and political contingencies of the research context. This perspective will offer further illumination of the contextualized sites of dominance and possible micro-political struggles, by addressing the way in which the *truths* about migrant (male) bodies, (urban) spaces and subjectivity (Read, 2009) were (re)produced and negotiated in the context of research.

6.3 YOUNG, ACTIVE, AND UNEMPLOYED: (DISENFRANCHISED) YOUTH, THE BODY AND NEOLIBERALISM

“You see all these kids today finishing school and complaining they are not getting the job they expected to get... They have been told by parents, relatives, social workers 'do this course and you will get a job quickly!', and so they did... so no matter how, if they did it because they liked it or not, they go out from school and get nothing... You know they got it all wrong, because nowadays is not about being good in what you have studied or in your job. If you want to get what you want, you have to be good at everything, be ready, and learn quick... you can't stand there waiting for your opportunity, you have move continually to chase any opportunity! It's like... how do they say in Brazil again? '*Se parar o bicho come*' (If you stop the beast eats you)!” (Lazer)

“Another thing that my father told me, that I think is at the foundation of all this [his deep investment in capoeira and parkour]... is that if you move from one place to another, you don't go to do the same things you did before, but you go there to improve yourself” (Marcos)

Drawing from the experiences of young people in various and diverse context in the global North and South, several contributions in literature (Lipsitz, 2003, 2004; Honwana and de Boeck, 2005; Maira and Soep, 2004; Vacchiano, 2010, 2012a, 2012b) have argued that youth often ambivalently embody the ultimate neoliberal subjects, as actors who have learnt “to make themselves as mobile, flexible and fluid as transnational capital” (Lipsitz, 2003, p. 20). Most of these contributions

have addressed youth not as passive victims of hegemonic power relations and structural conditions, but rather as ambivalent agents of promotion and simultaneously in situational contestation of neoliberal individualized utopias (Bauman, 1998) based on self-realization, social (and geographical) mobility and consumption.

Vacchiano's (2010, 2012a, 2012b) multi-sited ethnography on Moroccan youth attempting literally by every means to migrate to Europe, highlighted how the economic motivations pushing these young men to risk their lives to get to Europe, coexisted with a stringent desire to participate in globalised dreams of recreation, leisure and consumption. Vacchiano (2010) synthesised this condition, that condensed at the same time historical, cognitive and emotional processes, using Benslama's (2002) image of the “desire of being other”. Vacchiano (2010) argued that the two terms composing this definition represent the main features of the late-capitalist ethos: the “desire” by all means legitimate, representing the need to transform and implement one's condition, and the “other” representing an alternative to one's life implied in a world of possibilities to which the only barrier is one's own will (p. 113). Despite significant differences in the context and opportunities of the participants in this research compared to the youth in Vacchiano's studies (2010, 2012a, 2012b), many of the participants' aspirations and everyday practices seemed to represent a very similar ethos. This often translated into attitudes and lifestyles that at the same time carried transformative stances and normalization of an unequal social order.

As seen in Cosmin and others' narratives, the participants' aspirations to seize possibilities and positioning apparently open to everybody (but in fact accessible only to restricted numbers [Francombe 2014]) often clashed with established images of the “good immigrant” as flexible, docile, and unskilled manpower that is often explicitly required by employers (Ambrosini, 2007) and normalized in the respondents' families (Palmas, 2009, 2010; Vacchiano, 2012b):

“At home we often argue with my family they say 'you are lazy, you don't want to work'... I want to work, I just don't want to do any kind of shitty job, be exploited and still have no good future for me, I'd rather take my risks and see if there something else I can do. If it's hard no-problem, as long as it is a bit more decent than what is around for me now” (Abdelrazak)

“Often I have been told 'look this is what happened to me, this is how it is, get used to the idea', I don't get this, what happened to you... if you couldn't make it doesn't mean that I won't make it!” (Cosmin)

Most participants like their parents were inscribed in mainly immigrant, and informal, market niches of unskilled, flexible, manual labor (mainly cleaning, dish-washing, removal, or construction jobs). Yet, many of them interpreted their families' acceptance of the demeaning conditions of subordinate assimilation (Ambrosini, 2007) as constraining their ambitions for social mobility and consumption. The generational cleavages (Yahyaoui, 2002) addressed in the previous chapters distanced the participants' and their families' ideas of “desirable”, and attainable, trajectories of social (im)mobility not only in terms of differing cultural affiliations (Yahayaoui, 2002), but also through conflicting moral orders and ethics of self-realisation. On one side, there was an ethos often based on self-sacrifice, a personal and economic investment directed “elsewhere” (i.e. homeland) and imbued with family obligations. On the other, ideas of self-realization and achievement while acknowledging and paying respect to the older generations' sacrifices and endurance, aimed to embrace another world of opportunities of mobility and autonomy, apparently available at one's fingertips (Vacchiano, 2010). The participants' focus and concerns about their capacity to move, be flexible and adaptable summarized this emerging ethos, and appeared in recurring images of adaptability and flexibility that related physical movement, social (and geographical) mobility, and self-constitution with the velocity of global flows and the space-time compression of the late-capitalist present (see also Stapleton & Terrio, 2009, p. 21):

“When you change place and country... many are scared, because

maybe they don't understand what they have never seen, but changing is a positive thing, the only thing you don't have to change are your values... and if you want to change, change to improve, to become more than who you are, you are always struggling with yourself" (Cosmin)

Cosmin's perspective echoed those of many participants, as well as Beck's (1992) discussion of the central issues and paradoxes of contemporary societies, where actors' focus on mobility, self-reflexivity, and innovation, and on a self-absorbing, hedonistic self, characterized a "social surge of individualization" (1992, p. 87) indissolubly paired with an "unprecedented sense of personal responsibility" (Soja, 1996, p. 92). Participants' attitude towards their self and the social world dramatically related to the latter perspectives. Although conscious and critical of their conditions of spatial and social marginalization, the participants made few references to the chance, or the desire, to change the wider social and political conditions that influenced their lives. Rather, they relied on a persistent, obstinate mantra of personal self-improvement and overcoming obstacles to change their positioning. On one side, the participants' reliance on discourses of self-development channelled empowering and constructive perspectives in a context of constant devaluation, social exclusion and normalisation of subordinate assimilation (Ambrosini, 2007). On the other side though, the normative and emancipatory force originally inherent in the idea of personal self-development increased a straining sense of duty and responsibility to assume a responsibility for states of affairs they were not responsible for (McNay, 2009, p. 65):

"Some days I feel like completely emptied I think of all I lack, a job, a proper place, a perspective for the future, I stay hours at the balcony with my earphones on, or I just lie on my bed and look at the roof. But then I say to myself 'stop being so lazy and go training!'" (Marcos)

"It's a thing such... because I know I can do more, but I'm never satisfied, and sometimes I have this problem, this thing that keeps me down a lot: the boredom. The boredom for me it's a thing... It's like a bridge fell on you, it really puts you down... I can do things but I can't because I'm too low and bored, it's like... I have no will, there's no will, maybe it's a nice day, but I don't feel like... It's not just about trainings, it's about everyday life, everything. It's like, something's missing. But I

know that other people overcome these problems, and I think 'if I sit here complaining how bad is my life it won't change for sure' so to inspire myself for example I put music or motivational speeches that can inspire me..." (Cosmin)



Figure 39. “Some days I feel like completely emptied I think of all I lack, a job, a proper place, a perspective for the future, I stay hours at the balcony with my earphones on...” (Photo by Marcos)

The participants' accounts clearly showed how painfully the “fictional story line” (Francombe, 2014) of a world of freedoms and opportunities enjoyed by active, worthwhile and consuming (young) citizens contrasted with their daily reality of social and spatial exclusion, and an unrecognisable suffering that they expressed through images of deprivation and “emptiness” (See also Vacchiano, 2012a). Cosmin and Marcos' focus on their struggle with themselves, rather with the conditions influencing their current positioning and lack of perspectives reflected what Read (2009) and McNay (2009) identified as a neoliberal logic of (self-)competition and (self-)investment that encompasses all human relationships: an “extension of labor” (Read, 2009, p. 3) that advances across all social spheres and all aspects of human existence, from the workplace, to leisure, health, and ultimately the self.

The participants' practices can therefore relate to critical perspectives that highlight

how (young) people, and their bodies, became “part of the new global economy that relies on individuals with flexibility that are trained to blame their inevitable ‘failures’ on themselves rather than on the system their lives are structured within.” (Heywood, 2007a, p. 104 in Wheaton, 2010, p. 1064). Drawing on Vacchiano's (2012a) insights, it can be argued that the diffuse, painful sense of derivation amongst the participants related to a perceived defective position in a context of virtually open but ruthlessly selective possibilities, and from the painfully restricted access to desires at the same time prescribed and proscribed to them. However, as argued at the beginning of the chapter, the participants were not just deceived into consuming alluring promises of self-transformation and mobility, or selflessly embodying and reproducing the contradictions of a neoliberal fictional story line. Addressing the participants' incorporation of a neoliberal ethos as a demonstration of the power of a hegemonic “centre” over a colonized periphery does not just fail to provide an understanding of the incoherent assemblage of discourses and practices constituting the neoliberal condition (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; McQuirk and Downing, 2009). A perspective addressing the participants' as oppressed “victims” of neoliberal inequalities cannot address the complex and nuanced *implications* of participants' bodily and spatial identity negotiation and emergent subjectivities. Rather, looking at the local, contextualized *stakes and consequences* of the participants' endorsement and (re)appropriation of a neoliberal ethos in their daily practices and urban spaces provides original viewpoints to make power visible in the context of research, and therefore possibly addressed. Although apparently contradicting the participants' agentic instances implied in the bodily and spatial negotiations presented in the previous chapters, it could be argued that the accounts presented so far in this chapter instead provide a meaningful and enriching perspective to examine and address their negotiations. Unpacking the ambivalence of the participants' practices, and their capacity to indissolubly hold the structural and the agentic together (Pavlidis, 2012; Francombe, 2014) in their daily enactment, becomes meaningful in a perspective considering the (micro)political implications, stakes, and consequences of the participants' re-appropriation of individualising and self-surveilling discourses in

the research context. The following section further extends this critical exploration, by interrogating the participants' daily pursuit of self-constitution in relation to the increasing creation of “healthified spaces” (Fusco, 2012) and diffusion of moralizing initiatives of community and health management in the research context.

6.4 BOYZ IN THE (SPORTING)HOOD: NEOLIBERALISM, BODY AND SPACE

“I guess training capoeira and parkour taught me that whatever I want to do, I can do it, as long as I train and take care of myself and my body, I can do it” (Reda)

“The project's objectives *provide to the area positive models of occupation of public spaces*, in order to *foster the re-appropriation of places* by those who live in the neighbourhood, *with particular attention to boys and girls* through *cultural and sporting animation* [...] *to identify positive leaderships* and *empower young people willing to be actively involved and made responsible of the use of public space* [...] *realization* with project users *of a neighbourhood brand, actions of local marketing and creation of merchandise products* with project's users [...] all the actions aim to *valorise neighbourhood youth human capital and competences*” (Youth Empowerment Partnership, Program Project 2014-2015, Operative Plan, pp. 2-5 emphasis added)

A great deal of literature addressing the emergence of what Crawford (1980) termed “healthism” has focused on the relationship between the increasing importance of health management and prevention in policies and individuals' daily lives, neoliberalism and the (in)active body (Markula and Pringle, 2006; Rich, 2010, 2011; Harrington and Fullagar, 2013). However, other meaningful contributions have highlighted how a “geography of neoliberalism” (Massey, 2005) can provide an insightful contribution to understand the nexus between neoliberalism and the production of healthified spaces and subjectivities (Fusco, 2006, 2007, 2012). Drawing on these perspectives, in this section I extend the reflections started in chapter V on the relationship between spaces, bodies and

identity. Specifically, I address more in detail how the participants' practices engaged with health discourses aiming to tackle both urban spaces and the bodies attending them through the provision of sport for inclusion initiatives in public spaces. Subsequently, the quotes at the beginning of this section introduce some of the key aspects regarding the participants' negotiation of healthified bodies and spaces in the research context, by addressing the participants' ambivalent relationship with one particular initiative enacted in Turin. In his account above, Reda can be perceived as an actor most likely aligning with dominant representations of the desirable healthy subject in the political rationalities of neoliberalism (Fusco, 2012, p. 144). Reda can be seen as someone possibly endorsing and benefiting from initiatives like project YEPP, that provide opportunities to promote youth “human capital” in a social context marked by a pervasive lack of possibilities for young people.

YEPP is an European project funded annually in Turin by the “Compagnia di San Paolo” bank foundation . The initiative began in the neighbourhood of Porta Palazzo in the spring of 2014, literally as I stepped back into Turin to start my fieldwork. Porta Palazzo is a controversial and strategic area in Turin's regeneration process. The district is adjacent to the touristic and glamorous city centre, it hosts numerous immigrant communities and has often been the site of heated tensions regarding the presence of immigrants and significant gentrifying initiatives (See also Semi, 2004, 2015). The Porta Palazzo district is also strategically located between the city centre and key re-development areas, including the Parco Dora area (see map, figure 40).

Fusco highlighted how youth behaviours and use of space have been of great concern to adults, and how sport and physical activity have always been depicted as solutions to the “problem” of youth and public spaces (2012, p. 145). As opposed to the widespread concerns about children's inactivity and the “obesity epidemic” (Fusco, 2007, 2012), in Turin the main field of intervention for projects like YEPP was disenfranchised, mainly migrant's youth “unhealthy” free-time, which was increasingly perceived as a(t) risk in terms of crime involvement, substance abuse, and, increasingly, terrorist radicalisation (see also Agergaard et al., 2015). In the previous chapter I addressed how the area of Parco Dora hosted similar initiatives, and how Parco Dora's participatory and citizen oriented management pursued objectives relating to YEPP aims: to positively transform both urban spaces and the city's image, and to initiate socially and economically virtuous circles of community participation and local *place marketing* (Silk and Andrews, 2012). The creation of Parco Dora represented a long-term, expensive, process of public/private spatial intervention and re-branding, enacted through a drastic transformation on an economically crucial and highly symbolical area of Turin. Conversely, project YEPP and similar initiatives enacted in Turin aimed instead to discretely transform forgotten and “incident prone” public spaces in regenerated areas not through massive economic investments and spatial transformations, but rather by inducing a productive spatial re-branding by the same youth who daily attended these spaces.



Figure 42. The peripheral public park targeted by Project YEPP

The rationale behind this intervention combined the promotion of “healthism and bodyism” (Fusco, 2012, p. 145) with the exaltation of enterprise and rationality. As emerging from the quote at the beginning of this section, urban space was symbolically linked to youth health, participation and an optimistic future by providing “positive models of occupation of public spaces”, and fostering “the re-appropriation of places” by “boys and girls”. These highly desirable outcomes were to be obtained mainly by identifying and empowering youth “willing to be made responsible of the use of public space”. Interestingly these project aims seemed to imply that the actual existing daily practices of the youth in public spaces could not possibly comply with the project's aims of space, and market, regeneration. As noted by Fusco (2012) the neoliberal invitation offered youth an opportunity to enhance their health and well-being that inevitably entailed a re-imagining of space and themselves, and configured the youth's concurrent uses of space, and time, as unhealthy, a(t) risk, or ambiguous at best. The project's aims, and the desirable places made possible through their action, thus not only aligned with the neoliberal priority to “tame the spatial” (Massey, 2005, p. 99), but also engaged in a *taming of time*, as one of the key elements organizing life rhythms of production/consumption (see Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). Furthermore, according to YEPP's aims and objectives, the action, and responsibility, of health promotion and regeneration of geographically and socially marginal spaces were no longer the objects of public policies, but rather passed to the (young) individuals living there. What occurred was a *de facto* shift of the public institutions's responsibility away from acting on social disparities. In addition, the project's aims only addressed the health, quality of life, space and youth in economic and measurable terms. The project aimed to valorise “youth human capital”⁵⁷, and described a healthy neighbourhood as a “re-branded” one, promoted through actions of “local marketing”. The project's actions of health and well-being promotion were therefore inextricably related to economic and productive issues, reflecting a neoliberal attention to the extension of market activity as a general matrix of social

⁵⁷ See Read (2009) and McNay (2009) for a detailed account on the neoliberal re-framing of the subject in terms of “human capital”.

and political relations (Read, 2009, p. 27). Ultimately, the project's objectives aimed to transform both disenfranchised youth and public spaces from “unhealthy” and unproductive sites, to positive leaders and marketers, and desirable, healthy, places to live (and consume).



Figures 43, 44. The “usual” public during participants' training sessions (41), and Marcos (42) training with the YEPP project banner in the background (Photos taken from participatory video)

During my presence in the field, the research participants were quite happy about the presence of YEPP operators' in one of their favourite training spots. The operators thoroughly supported the participants' trainings in the park. This was one of the few spaces where the participants had seldom issues with the “public”, and the YEPP operators quickly acknowledged and “capitalized” on the possibilities of contacting local youth, and the undeniable attention and interest the participants instigated in peers and younger users of that space (see figures 41 and 42 above). This ongoing relationship between YEPP operators and the participants evolved throughout the research process with insightful turns for the issues addressed in this chapter.

6.4.1 (Free)Running Along a Thin Line: Capoeira, Parkour and Participants' Promotion, and Contestation, of Body, Space, and Youth "Healthification"

“Our project is focused on the promotion of health and well-being, as a means to prevent disadvantage and exclusion. With the improving of youth's quality of life through sporting and cultural activities we promote health and well-being to prevent disadvantage.” (YEPP project Operative Plan, 2014, p. 9)

“You know, I'm happy to be paid to do a bit of what I like, but there are things that don't make much sense, as I've been said not to spend too much time with younger kids that are coming to play, as the 'age groups' the projects targets are 15-20... I don't give much weight to this, though... wanna play? Do you think I'm gonna ask you your age first?” (Nicolaij, 21, Project YEPP “Youth Peer-Trainer”)

The YEPP project represented a significant shift from previous, and now sensibly under-funded (<https://cobspiemonte.wordpress.com>), street education projects enacted in Turin. The principal aims of the earlier projects were to enact preventive health interventions (i.e. distribution of sterile material to drug users, prevention of infectious diseases, monitoring drug users) and provide data to inform public (health) policies. Now, in a subtle but significant shift in the field of intervention, targeted populations, and policy implications, YEPP's “innovative approach” (p.9) engaged “the potential youth in the periphery has to offer” (p. 59) in sporting and cultural initiatives to promote the health and well-being of youth in spontaneous places of socialization. The project aimed to identify and “empower” local youth distinguishing themselves for participation and leadership as paid “peer trainers” for the proposed sporting activities. The figure of “peer trainers” in the project was crucial since they were expected to be the key-actors to engage and reach local youth and the community. The project also focused on sessions and meetings on “how to write a project”, “guerrilla marketing”⁵⁸ and community leadership that aimed to enhance the youth's curricula vitae and therefore their chances in the job market. In sum, Project YEPP represented an example of an array of relatively

⁵⁸ Guerrilla marketing is described in the project as an “unconventional”, low-cost form of promotion involving the use of instruments targeting “the imaginary and psychological mechanisms of possible brand's end users” (YEPP, 2014, p. 26)

small and short lived⁵⁹, public-private funded projects emerging in Turin with a focus on interventions for young “entrepreneurial selves” (Lupton, 1995; Rose, 2007; McNay, 2009; Fusco, 2012) willing to take action to improve their health and well-being and re-brand the spaces they live in (see Figure 33 below).



Figure 45. YEPP Project Flyer promoting “projects writing” and “entrepreneurship” workshops for young people between 17-25 years old.

As mentioned above, the participants' appreciated the fact that possibly for the first time representatives of an official institution positively acknowledged their public enactment of capoeira and parkour, and addressed it as an example of “positive youth leadership” in public spaces. On many occasions the participants reported how this positive acknowledgement made them feel as if they were doing something good not just for themselves, but for the community as well, by being represented as “positive examples” for others. When the project's operators offered the participants the chance to make t-shirts for their “parkoeira” group, as part of the project's aims to “re-brand” local spaces and practices, the participants'

⁵⁹ The project is presented as needing funding for 2 years maximum, as after that the local associations participating to the project are supposed to make self-sustainable the single local initiatives started by the project (p. 3).

obviously accepted the idea with enthusiasm.



Figure 46. “Parkoeira” T-shirt official launch at YEPP offices (from the project facebook page).
Interestingly none of the people in the photo are actually “parkoeira” practitioners.

Right after this time, when my fieldwork was ending in September 2014, Marcos was offered the chance to be included in the project as a paid capoeira/parkour peer trainer. Marcos would be accompanied by a project operator and granted absolute freedom in choosing where and how to conduct his training, though his activity would be evaluated and monitored according to the project's aims. A few months later, in April 2015, when I returned to Turin for a short visit, the situation had changed and all the projects' activities, including Marcos' capoeira/parkour sessions, had been moved to a city council managed open-air sporting centre. When I interviewed the project's operator working with Marcos and asked her about the change, she said:

“Sara (Project Operator): Well, actually it was a decision of the project's coordinators [usually members/directors of the local associations participating in the project] to group all the activities and the kids at the polyvalent centre. It is easier to offer positive involvement in our activities. In the previous spaces [public spaces such as the park where participants trained] that was more difficult, it was more dispersive, you couldn't engage enough with the kids as they were constantly around... plus *we think girls feel safer in here*.

N. [researcher]: Do you think that operating in a place with fences... the characteristics of the place you choose to enact the project now contrast with the project's aims to meet young people in the places they spontaneously attend? By the way, I do not see any girl here?!

Sara: Oh, well, they [the girls] will start to come any minute... we think of this as a public space, you don't need membership to pay to enter, and actually we think it can provide *a good idea of public space*.

N. [researcher]: So what about the other public spaces, like that where you met Marcos' and the parkoeira group training?

Sara: Well, our aim is that having more possibility to involve young people coming to this place in our project activities, the benefits will start to spread in other public spaces of the neighbourhood.

N. [researcher]: How did Marcos, and the other peer-trainers react to this change?

Sara: They did not comment when we communicated the change. I think they understood the project's aims and realized that moving our activities did not actually affect their positive realization" (Sara, Project YEPP operator, April, 2015, emphasis added)

However, despite the operator's assumptions, Marcos' opinion about the change was definitely less enthusiastic:

"Marcos: Well, it does seem a bit weird, they say it's better in here, that you can work better with people, but actually we have been put in this small piece of green with two benches between two futsal/tennis fields, we can't really do much here. Plus, who comes here mainly do it to play football, and while they wait for their turn they play table tennis, *I think they are completely missing all the others...*

N. [researcher]: Did you discuss this with Sara or any other?

Marcos.: Well, when we got informed about the change, it felt more as a communication rather than a discussion, everything seemed pretty much set up...

N.: [researcher]: Were you a bit upset for all this change?

Marcos.: You know, I think it's possible to learn from everything... definitely I didn't like them saying one thing, and then doing another,

but I guess, and I remember us talking about this, that they had to keep 'the stats' positive to get their funding or so, so they probably had to change plans in order to survive... *I don't think though this project is up to what they described to us* when we met them, you know, *valorising the positive stuff young people are spontaneously doing in this city, I really hoped this project aimed to change people's perspective on what we do*, and not just us doing capoeira and parkour, you know? and *you can't do it if you close yourself here*, it's the same as a gym... anyway, as for me, to be sincere I still think for me it is a good chance to gain experience, it will look good on my CV, and it is a decent way to gain some money so I take it as an experience... way better than just washing dishes in a restaurant kitchen” (Marcos, emphasis added)



Figure 47. Via Carmagnola city-council polyvalent sporting centre, where all YEPP activities were moved in 2015 (Street view from Google Maps)

Marcos and Sara's quotes showed me the contrasting modalities of re-appropriation of a neoliberal ethos by youth, thus highlighting the space for contestation within a seemingly homogeneous, hegemonic and increasingly “natural” vision of the world (Read, 2009, pp. 27-28; McNay, 2009). Sara's account confirmed how an initiative promoting health and urban re-generation the matter of young individualised, self-responsible choices, and shaped by risk-management discourses, contributed to make social differences and inequalities invisible, and to construct normative ideas of “healthy” public spaces, and ways to live in them (Fusco, 2012, p. 152). Therefore, the project's decision (and operators' motivations) to move all its activities to an open-air sporting centre, operated a crucial shift in what is

understood as constituting “public space” and the desired moral bodies attending it (Rose, 1995). As seen above, the representation of the projects' idea(l) of public space was conceived as open, freely accessible, but also regulated and delimited, thus avoiding “dispersion” and inciting youth to become engaged participants in the project health and space re-branding initiatives (see Fusco, 2012, p. 146). Similarly to what I argued in regard to Parco Dora in chapter V, the point made here is not to criticize the existence of such spaces, or to imply deceptive aims in the project's management. Rather, I contend that is fundamental to problematise the consequences of an increasing convergence of normative ideas of public space as healthified and pacified territories. This is in line with Rose (1996), who highlighted how the management and organisation of space provide neoliberalism with multiple sites for the application of an advanced, liberal, form of “government at distance” (see also Rose and Miller, 2008). By describing unregulated public spaces as unsuitable for the enactment of the project's aims of health and community development, and, on the contrary, by defining the open-air sporting centre as the only site enabling this possibility, a subtle but powerful *moral differentiation* of public spaces was enacted in the project's actuation. The consequence of this division can be easily imagined as contributing to identify the “bodies proper” whose attendance of specific sporting, healthy, public spaces invest them with the desired characteristics of a productive, participatory democratic citizenship (Silk and Andrews, 2012, p. 128) on the one hand. However, on the other hand, those bodies who insist on attending other chaotic, unproductive, unhealthy public spaces are more likely to be identified with the social, moral, and economic, characteristics of the spaces they *choose* to attend (Fusco, 2012, p. 145; Silk and Andrews, 2012, p. 128). This emerging moral division, implicitly aims to squeeze ambiguity from the idea of public space (Giroux, 2004b). Despite its aims to promote gender equality, it also implicated the reinforcement of hegemonic gender relations. By implying that “girls would feel safer” in the fenced, regulated sporting area, project operators not only naturalised the idea of (proper) young women as “not belonging” in unregulated (and inherently degenerate) public spaces (see also Madriz, 1997a, 1997b), but also

reproduced a problematic perspective of sports, and sporting environments, as gender neutral and “naturally” inclusive (Van Ingen, 2003; Vertinsky, 2004a, 2004b; Fusco, 2006). In general, the current development of the YEPP project and the accounts above again showed (as seen in chapter V), the deployment of a problematic and unchallenged “common good” rhetoric. In the case of the YEPP project, this rhetoric implied an idea of a homogeneous population with a common investment in a unified vision of what is a healthy city/community, its development and management (Fusco, 2007, p. 55), and eclipsed possibly diverging voices (such as Nicolaij and Marcos') (see also Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011, p. 293). As seen in the accounts mentioned above, this “shared” perspective equated with the good intentioned, but still unilateral, perspective of the project's coordinators and operators. Youth having an interest in be(com)ing healthy citizens would understand and agree with the reasons informing the project's changes. The implications of this *neglect of conflict* (Rosol, 2015 p. 260) regarding the multiple, and possibly conflicting understandings of health(y) spaces, well-being and community development, *are not trivial*. As I showed in this section, the larger socio-spatial contexts of young people's lives (i.e. unemployment, gender inequalities, social exclusion, and the lack of social housing and failing public education), were localised and manifested precisely in urban spaces. These conditions were muted by the project self-fulfilling proclamations of innovative, participated initiatives of health and well-being promotion, local revitalisation and re-branding (see Fusco, 2007, p. 58).

However, Nicolaij and Marcos' accounts provided not only insights about the power imbalances eclipsed by the project's participatory image, but also a perspective on how youth involved in YEPP's activities tactically engaged with the project to seize opportunities lacking in their environment (for some the free use of sporting facilities, or a small income to integrate with other informal, off-the-books sources). Agreeing with Fusco (2007), I contend that the discussion of how youth engage and perceive themselves as the focus of emerging healthified spaces is

crucial to advance an informed critical debate on the relationship between health, body, spaces and subjectivity in contemporary late-capitalist societies. This perspective on the relationship between neoliberalism and the production of physical activity and health spaces has not been elaborated as much as the policy and discourse analysis on this topic. Addressing this issue is therefore important to interrogate the extent to which youth in various contexts take up and/or resist dominant constructions of health (Fusco, 2012, p. 144), and to focus on the resulting spaces and subjectivities originating in these negotiations.

Marcos' account in this case showed that, even though seizing the opportunities the YEPP project offered them, the participants' conceptions of public space, health and (micro)political participation still implied a rather critical, reflexive stance and engagement towards the initiative and the idea of the sanitized space it proposed. Even though pursuing ideals of an healthy, entrepreneurial self and civic engagement that apparently aligned with YEPP's objectives, Marcos' words clearly argued that his ideas on how, and where, to attain these aims were strikingly different from YEPP. Drawing on these elements, I contend that focusing on the daily, minute, mundane negotiations that the participants' enacted in the field can highlight how the “conduct of conduct” (Rose, 1996, 1999; Silk and Andrews, 2008; Rosol, 2014a) of youth's bodies, moralities, and civic participation may be destabilized by the same “freedoms” that neoliberalism requires (Massey, 2005). The vignettes addressed in this section only partially addressed the initial implications of this evolving relationship⁶⁰ between participants and institutional actors in the field. However the material presented has highlighted once more the participants' ambivalent engagement with moral positioning they both conformed to and contested (See Dilts, 2011; Pavidilis, 2012; Francombe, 2014) through their emerging ethical⁶¹ engagement with capoeira and parkour. At this point in my

⁶⁰ While I was finishing this chapter Marcos enthusiastically wrote me that he convinced the project's operators to move the capoeira/parkour sessions outside the sporting centre, though that was only for the last two months of this year's project.

⁶¹ I understand here the meaning of “ethics” more broadly as making one's positioning in the world explicit, and specifically referring to Foucault's conceptualisation, which I will address more in

discussion however, I contend that the participants' ambivalent practices and negotiations of space, health and self did not just imply a vaguely-directed, fluid, and tactical navigation of power relations enacted in order to maximise benefit and avoid harm (Vigh, 2006, 2009; Lindegaard, 2009). Rather, the participants' negotiations suggested the idea of tightrope walkers balancing on a thin line while engaging in a continuous, unfolding process of self-constitution. The complex, minute, and counterweighted manoeuvres characterising the participants' attempts to balance, and move, within an unfolding context offering lifestyle “free-choices” of health, consumption and (post)democratic participation, as well as situational opportunities to carve desired spaces and trajectories, will all be the focus of the next sections of this chapter. Specifically, I will frame the participants' practices in relation to current literature on lifestyle sports. Finally, I will engage with a Foucauldian concept often used in such literature and sociology of sport, technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988), to critically address the participants' process of subjection/subjectification through capoeira and parkour, and to explore theoretical contributions engaging with the participants' identity negotiation and their (micro-)political consequences .

6.5 “YOU CAN'T GET IT IF YOU DON'T LIVE IN MY CLOTHES”: EXPLORING CRUCIAL, UNCHARTED FIELDS IN LIFESTYLE SPORTS RESEARCH

“My mum keeps saying to me 'When will you stop playing around and become a grown-up?!', she doesn't get its a philosophy of life for me, nothing childish in it at all” (Cosmin)

“I tell you what, the only moments I think I am worth, I exist, is when I train... when I jump, people cheer, they make photos, yes, alright... but the truth of the matter is that when I train I find myself, when I train I feel free... you can't really get it if you don't live in my clothes” (Alex)

The discussion of the participants' practices and negotiation at this point requires

details in the following sections.

addressing a growing literature on lifestyle sports that analyse the worldwide diffusion of informal sporting activities to comprehend their significance in relation to historical, political and social processes (see Wheaton, 2010).

Earlier in this work I outlined how literature on parkour and skateboarding has addressed the urban politics of the diffusion of lifestyle sports across the globe, both implied in their disruption of the urban spatial order (Borden, 2001; Atkinson, 2009, 2012; Bavinton, 2011; Daskalaki et al., 2008; Guss, 2011; Marshall, 2010; Mould, 2009; Saville, 2008; Lamb 2014a, 2014b) and in their reconfiguration as “instruments of development” (Howell, 2005, 2008; Vivoni, 2009). Specifically, in regard to the issues addressed in this chapter, insightful contributions in the literature (Howell, 2005; Heywood, 2007a, 2007b; Wheaton, 2010) have argued how lifestyle sports' focus on individualism, self-responsibility and an entrepreneurial “sky-is-the-limit” ethos meaningfully dovetail with neoliberalism as an economic and cultural movement and as a hegemonic representation of “human nature” (see Read, 2009; McNay, 2009). Other studies have explored the potential of lifestyle sports to expose the contradictions embedded in late capitalist modalities of life and to propose alternative forms of physical culture (Atkinson, 2009; Markula, 2003, 2004, 2014). All these studies represent meaningful references in relation to my aims to articulate the participants' daily practices with broader structural and discursive conditions, and to explore the political significance and consequences of their engagement in capoeira and parkour. As such, I contend that lifestyle sport scholarship can provide meaningful insights to address relevant contemporary issues, like the emerging forms of political activism related to informal sports that some scholars (Heywood and Montgomery, 2008; Wheaton, 2013, 2015; Thorpe and Rinehart, 2012; Thorpe and Ahmad, 2013; Thorpe 2014) have addressed. The fact that an ongoing seminar series funded by Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)⁶² is exploring the ways in which

⁶² According to the website, the seminar series entitled “Exploring the social benefits of informal and lifestyle sports” offers an opportunity for policymakers, educationalists and practitioners “to come together with academic researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds to consider the changing role of sport in contemporary lifestyles”

lifestyle and informal sports can inform various policy debates and development (across areas including health, physical education, youth and community development, tourism and planning) can be seen as a further proof of the increasing relevance of this field (ESRC, 2015).

Drawing on the arguments provided in Chapter I to defend my understanding of capoeira as lifestyle sport in this research I contend that the analytical perspective offered in this study provides a relevant contribution to the debate on lifestyle sports through its focus on contexts other than the gyms and (urban) spaces familiar to White, middle-class participants/researchers in this field of enquiry (see also Wheaton, 2010). The ethnographic perspective offered by this study provides a meaningful contribution to research aiming to engage with under-addressed perspectives (in terms of gender, class, race, sexual orientation, geographic location, or the combination of these elements) that can be found within already liminal physical sites and practices (see also Wheaton, 2015).

I argue that the discussion provided here represents a meaningful contribution, since it has focused on voices, and spaces, that so far have been under-represented in research on capoeira, parkour, lifestyle sports, and in research on “the physical” (Silk et al., 2015) more broadly: disenfranchised youth engaging with physical practices beyond the regulated, connoted and commodified arenas of (lifestyle) sports and health interventions. The material discussed in this work thus highlighted how through this embodied and spatial perspective it is possible to attend to the manifold ways in which difference and exclusion are manifest (e.g. materially, discursively, spatially) in contemporary physical culture and urban spaces, and explore how power is both reproduced and contested (Wheaton, 2015, p. 637).

I contend that perspectives on the physical like those provided in this study

(<http://www.informalandlifestylesports.org.uk>)

contribute significantly to the debate on crucial, inter-related issues such as migration, identity and citizenship, health and urban governance. Therefore, I advocate for the recognition and engagement with these potentialities in research addressing lifestyle sports. Studies like this one show that perspectives on the practice and diffusion of informal physical practices and lifestyle sports from non-hegemonic geographical and social positioning provide significant insights about emerging and consolidated transnational (cultural and human) networks, flows and mobilities, and the subject positions characterizing our historical present. Academic analysis addressing these sites and practices, and the power relations and stakes they negotiate, is not just timely, but urgently needed.

Cosmin and Alex's quotes assume a particular relevance in relation to what has been argued so far in this section. The participants' accounts reveal how groups of young people at the spatial and social margins of our cities engaged with informal physical practices not just as possibilities of entertainment but also as a “philosophy of life”, and an ethical position toward the social world. Therefore, I contend once more that the perspective elaborated here provides a relevant ethnographic perspective and contribution to knowledge. Specifically, the ethnographic focus on the emplaced bodies of young men of migrant origins practicing capoeira and parkour in Turin's public spaces highlighted the fundamental role of the body as a site where unequal power relations and dynamics are inscribed and can be negotiated, in other words looking at the body as a possibility and not just a determination. I contend that the political possibilities of the body, as a site indissolubly holding together, and going beyond, structural and the agentic, (Pavidilis, 2012; Francombe, 2014) can be explored, recognised and addressed through ethnographic work. I also argue that this theoretical/methodological perspective can significantly contribute to the theoretical debate on power, the body and society and to critically unpack, pinpoint and make visible the action of bio-political forces in our daily lives and historical present. The insights produced by this view can be imagined as ranging from

addressing the diffusion and social relevance of informal sporting practices in young people's lives, to unpacking emerging forms of subjectivity, health and (contingent) citizenship taking shape in urban spaces.

The ethnographic focus on (disenfranchised) youth engagement in lifestyle sports in this study addressed the transient experience and meanings of an intangible concept such as “freedom” for the participants in relation to identity, in a contemporary cultural context where free-choices and possibilities seem equally “prescribed and proscribed” to young people (Vacchiano, 2012a, p. 101). As such, Alex's words and his ephemeral experience of freedom and self-constitution related to his daily body training seemed to echo the Foucauldian conceptualization of technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988). As underlined by Wheaton (2010), this concept gained popularity amongst sport sociologists by addressing how individuals can be actively engaged in producing subjectivities who challenge dominant discourses (p. 1068). In the following, final sections of this chapter I will critically address this literature and consider to what extent the concept of technologies of the self represents a meaningful reference to unpack the participants' negotiations, and I will theoretically elaborate further on the implications, and possibilities, of their practices.

6.6 “I FELL AND I GOT UP, UNTIL I GOT HERE”: CAPOEIRA, PARKOUR AND TECHNOLOGIES OF THE SELF

“I said many times already that when I train I feel free and then you are not happy and always ask me what freedom means to me (laughs)... When I train I feel a sense of freedom because I change, I come out from the monotony of my daily life, of the things I can and cannot do or have [...] I can change anger in peace of mind and boredom in fun, I don't need anything when I train, and this changes all” (Abdelrazak)

“I arrived here and I was dancing, I saw one guy, he was doing some vaults and I asked what it was, they told me it's parkour. I look like this 'what's that?!', a sport, so I liked it and I started to do it also me... I fell,

I got up, I fell, I got up, I went on and on like this until I got here, and that's me now” (Alex)

Following up on the reflections begun in the previous sections I now draw upon Foucault's discussion of technologies of the self (1988) to address the participants' practices and transient experiences of freedom and how they engaged in their process of self-fashioning. Foucault's main body of work focused on the regulatory, minute elements of power and discourse to regulate and govern bodies/subjects. However his later works aimed to balance this focus, by addressing how “human beings are made subjects” (Foucault, 1983, p. 208), how individuals take up particular subject positions and negotiate their positions in relation to discourse. Central in Foucault's scholarship was the acknowledgement that “power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere” (1980, p. 93), and that power is both constraining *and* productive. Individuals are therefore imbued in non-egalitarian and unfolding power relationships in which they occupy shifting positions, and from where they are both subjected to, and able to exert power (Foucault, 1980). Foucault's exploration of how actors can be engaged in an active negotiation of their subjectivity happened through the conceptualization of technologies of the self:

“Technologies of the self permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and a way of being, so as to transform themselves to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality.” (Foucault, 1988, p. 19)

This concept represents a meaningful lens to address the participants' ambivalent negotiations as actors both subjected to and exerting power in the context of research (see also Markula and Pringle, 2006, p. 137). In other words, the concept's capacity to address power as both a modality of subjection and subjectification (Foucault, 1983) explores how the participants' embodiment and endorsement of a neoliberal ethos did not hinder them to negotiate it through their engagement with capoeira and parkour:

“So... what is parkour to me... [few seconds of silence]... you know what?... often it feels to me we are given... assigned a point of departure and a point of arrival, so that if I choose not to second the route assigned to me it really becomes a problem [...] I have been told in so many ways, 'you can't just think about yourself and your dreams, step on the ground!' and after a while it's not a suggestion anymore... so, my point of arrival is to become a movie director, but I know I cannot just become it, that's not my assigned track, what I'm making day by day is my track... nobody is supporting me, nobody can tell me where they passed to make it, anything can happen... I don't know how to get there, but the path I am making for myself is what is more important, it is what I am doing, it is what is defining me, strengthening me. It changes you, you change your thinking, your way of walking and when you wake up in the morning you are not anymore who you were... that is parkour to me.” (Cosmin)

As mentioned previously, Cosmin's quote addressed how his investment in a neoliberal ethos of ongoing self-development and transformation enabled him to critically engage and imagine alternative trajectories from “assigned paths”, or the regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980, 1988) discursively constructing and normalizing the social prerogatives and horizons of migrant (male) bodies in contemporary Italian society. Cosmin's description of what parkour meant to him addressed a crucial element of Foucault's definition of technologies of the self: the exercise of critical thought and a problematisation of one's subject position (Foucault, 1983, see also Markula and Pringle, 2006). According to Foucault, only after questioning one's own position within contemporary discourses and regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980, 1988) it is possible to engage in what Foucault termed *ethical conduct* (1985). As such, when individuals acknowledge the rules and codes of conduct enabling and constraining their actions, then they have a certain choice within these codes to make the rules their own (see also Markula and Pringle, 2006, p. 143). In conclusion, the problematisation of one's position within a set of power relations in Foucault's conceptualisation becomes the key element for the possibility to enact *practices of freedom* (Foucault, 1994). Practices of freedom represent possibilities for individuals to think about themselves, or engage with the self and others (see also Spowart et al., 2010, p. 1188):

“I never realized people saw me as a foreigner, I arrived here very young, I did all schools here, I speak with the same accent as you, I didn't even pose myself the question, right? I felt like anyone else, I did the same things as my age mates. So when the others isolated me when I played football or basketball I thought it was my fault, that there was something wrong in me. Then, when I started training parkour and capoeira my peers would compliment and accept me, but people in the streets or around me kept looking at me in a funny way. So from then I started to realize they looked and behaved with me like that because they considered me as different from them, I mean... not in a good way...” (Karim)

Karim's words here explicitly recall how only after recognizing his actual marginal positioning within the discourses, and hierarchies of belonging taking place in Turin's social, and sporting, spaces could he locate his “defective” membership in society not as his fault, but rather in the eyes of other people. This recognition enabled him to contingently negotiate that relationship from then on (see also his testimonial narrative in Chapter 5).

Foucault specifically conceptualised subjectification as the process of individual re-appropriation of the dominant code of conduct, since the individual, can respond to the code in different ways by choosing how to “conduct oneself morally”, while acknowledging and reproducing its general principles (Foucault, 1985, p. 26). However, drawing on Foucault's conceptualisation of power and his critical stance on resistance and liberation (see footnote no. in this work), the focus of Foucault's technologies of the self becomes transforming one's self, not the code of conduct (and the wider intersection of power/regimes of truth constituting it). This aspect deeply resonated with the participants' focus on self-transformation and development, and in particular with the participants' subjective and intensely lived experiences of freedom while training capoeira and parkour. Specifically, Foucault's concept pinpointed and highlighted the participants' attempts of emancipation from established prerogatives and regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980, 1988) on migrant (male) bodies enacted by pursuing neoliberal individualised utopias (Bauman, 1998) of self-development and self-responsibility:

“We all fall one day or another, isn’t it? With capoeira I learnt that when you can’t avoid it, sometimes you simply can’t, you have to have learnt how fall well, so that your fall will not stop you from getting your life done!” (Ricardo)

As mentioned above, having acknowledged that technologies of the self are not devoid of the power/discourse/truth nexus and do not necessarily reverse discourses, Foucault's analysis identifies the individual's re-appropriation of the code of conduct as the mode of making oneself an ethical subject (1983, 1985). The quote above showed how Ricardo engaged in capoeira and parkour not just as leisure practices, but also as a means to make himself a subject overcoming obstacles, to “get his life done” by embodying moralities of self-responsibility and self-development in his daily capoeira and parkour practice. Foucault (1985) identified the individual's process of recognizing oneself as a subject relating to four aspects: *ethical substance*, *mode of subjection*, *ethical work*, and *telos* (see also Markula and Pringle, 2006, p. 141). Addressing these four aspects provided further elements to unpack the participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour as a means of self-constitution, pinpoint elements constituting the participants' negotiations with more clarity, and consider possible limitations and integrations of technologies of the self when conceptualising the issues addressed in this study.

6.7 CAPOEIRA AND PARKOUR AS ETHICS OF SELF CARE AND SUBJECTIFICATION

“Well, capoeira to me is not an end in itself, it is more a tool, to become different, to improve my self... problems will always come towards you, and you can't do anything than trying to face them and keep going forward [...] people choose many instruments to go through with their lives and I choose these [capoeira and parkour]” (Dragan)

As Dragan's and the previous participants' accounts showed, discourses of self-development, hedonism, flexibility, autonomy, continuous innovation and

improvement represented the constant motivating elements of participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour. As such, the respondents' voices, bodies and experiences highlighted how capoeira and parkour did represent “practices of freedom” for them (Foucault, 1988, 1994), enabling to situationally (de)construct the truth (Foucault, 1994) and established social prerogatives of their migrant (male) bodies. On the other hand, the Foucauldian conceptualisation of power highlighted how the participants recognized themselves as subjects *within* a neoliberal discourse of healthism (Fusco, 2012) autonomy and self-actualisation (Evans et al. 2010) through capoeira and parkour.

Foucault (1985) understood the process of subjectivation, or self-constitution as divided into four ‘aspects’: the *ethical substance*, *mode of subjection*, *ethical work* and *telos*. Foucault's (1985) exploration of these four aspects provided a meaningful framework for this study to address how the participants' engaged with capoeira and parkour as technologies of the self.

Through the idea of *ethical substance*, Foucault (1985) referred to the actual part of one self that is chosen as the primal site of a process of self-transformation work on the self. The data presented in this and previous chapters has implied that in the context of research the body, as “an object of concern, an element for reflection, and a material for stylization” (Foucault, 1985, p. 23–24) constituted the main site through which the participants' experienced, critiqued and negotiated the action of power in their daily life. According to the chosen substance, in the participants' case, this was the body, Foucault recognized that there are several ways through which individuals adhere to what is considered ethical conduct and through which “one establishes his relation to specific rules and then obliges himself to put these into practice” (Foucault, 1985, p. 27). What Foucault called *mode of subjection*, could be read as the participants' engagement with their bodies and practices as the individualising moralities of self-accountability, self-development, mobility and autonomy characterizing the minute, daily aspects of participants' lives, from

health/body management to work and leisure, and which I addressed in this chapter:

“I see capoeira and parkour as instruments to know myself and my limits, and to over- come them [...] they are as well means to take care of myself, to get to know what I want to become and achieve, I am pretty sure if not for that I’d probably be drinking and wasting myself somewhere around with my cousins.” (Reda)

“Once somebody told me that if I have a dream I should make it as high as possible, as something too close doesn't push you to improve [...] training capoeira and parkour made me feel more determined, more motivated: instead of hanging around till 3-4am drinking, smoking or doing nothing I go to sleep and wake up earlier to train, and that's how I realised that the way you choose to reach something is as important as reaching it” (Cosmin)

Reda's and Cosmin's accounts insightfully described how their body training articulated aspirations of emancipation and social mobility, moral imperatives of self -responsibility and current discourses intersecting health with “good” and “productive” citizenship (Fusco, 2006; Rich, 2010, 2011; Harrington and Fullagar, 2013). Their words resonated with Foucault's idea that the mode of subjection provides a (moral) motivation for the individual to engage in *ethical work*. The *ethical work* refers to the work that “one performs on oneself, not only in order to bring one’s conduct into compliance with a given rule, but to attempt to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one’s behaviour” (Foucault, 1985, p. 27), and what Foucault also called “self-forming activities” (1983, p. 239). These are the various conceptual and practical tools that allow an individual to create one’s self in a new way within a dominant code of conduct. Such ethical work assumed certain attitudes that facilitated continuous critical self-transformation and then manifested in diverse practices. Subsequently, in this study, capoeira and parkour clearly represented the techniques that provided the participants with the means to constitute themselves as ethical subjects through images of mobility, flexibility, self-assertion and subversion of previous positioning (see Fuggle, 2008). As Dragan's words at the beginning of this section, and many other accounts in this

study showed these were the tools that the participants had at their disposal and realised at some point they could use to engage in an ongoing process of self-transformation:

“Parkour, capoeira they are way beyond just that [a physical activity, a sport] this is something you realise only after years of training, after more than five years now I can't tell you what it is, but... it really changes you, it really helps you give importance to yourself, before maybe you thought of yourself as a nobody” (Karim)

For Foucault, the goal of one's process of self-transformation represented the *telos* (or teleological self), the kind of being to which an individual aspires to be(come) by engaging in an ethical conduct (1985). Foucault gave examples of these aspirations as the desires to “become pure, or immortal, or free, or masters of ourselves” (Foucault, 1983, p. 239). Although the participants rarely expressed their ambitions clearly, apart from Cosmin, some of their narratives and motivations for engaging in capoeira and parkour provided insightful elements in this regard:

“This is why we associate all this [capoeira and parkour] with our daily life... I mean, in our everyday life we face difficulties, problems, and we learn to overcome them in a way or another, gradually, as with parkour we learn to overcome obstacles, or in capoeira we learn to find the right time to do the wrong thing [laughs]... I mean, yes, I guess I can say we inspired to overcome problems in our daily life with our capoeira and parkour skills...” (Bogdan)

“What also is great about parkour is that adrenaline, that feeling that you have when you jump an obstacle which hinders you to get somewhere and you try everything to find a way to overcome it [...] You feel all these contrasting emotions, fear, deception, rage, excitement, but when you do it you feel so damn powerful, and you feel like: if I find the way to climb a wall of ten metres just with my skills and imagination, I can use it for other obstacles in my life. (Samba)

As these quotes show, discussing the participants' practices through technologies of the self allows for a theorisation of the participants' critical engagement with their

social and discursive positioning, and also for highlighting of how they critically addressed only specific elements of this positioning. The analysis of participants' re-positioning *within* individualising, neoliberal imperatives of self-development, mobility and transformation implied that, rather than inspiring an opposition or transformation of the power relations operating on their lives, the participants' engagement in capoeira and parkour enabled them to recognize themselves as *subjects* within such discourses (Foucault, 1985; See also Markula and Pringle, 2006, p. 140, and Dilts, 2011, p. 140). Technologies of the self illuminated the mutual constitution and negotiation of power enacted by the participants' through their daily practices of self-fashioning, and to some extent clarified the ambivalent implications of the participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour in Turin's social context.

As discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, the negotiations that the participants enacted through a process of self-transformation did not necessarily aim to reverse discourse in many ways. Rather, the participants' practices seemed to align with the government at a distance (Rose, 1996; Rose and Miller, 2008) and emerging “ideas of freedom” (Rose, 1999) that increasingly define “the ground of our ethical systems, our practice of politics and our habits of criticism” (p.10). As such, the participants' committed and subjectively emancipatory engagement with capoeira and parkour resonated with the dynamics of the government in neoliberal regimes that operate not through the imposition of social conformity but rather through the organized proliferation of individual difference and de-politicised autonomy (McNay, 2009).

Therefore, technologies of the self therefore represents a meaningful conceptual resource to trace the continuities between the participants' experiences of freedom, their entrepreneurial selves and the practices of government from distance enacted in Turin's urban spaces (an aspect that will be explored more in details in the next section). However, while showing the concept's validity to highlight the

ambiguities of their negotiations, the participants' accounts also indicated the limitations of technologies of the self in enabling to address the negotiation of “subjectivity, freedom and possibility” (Read, 2009, p. 36) through a critical engagement with physical culture.

As highlighted by some critics (Bordo, 1990; McNay, 1994; Azzarito and Solmon, 2006; Azzarito, 2007), the concept, and the Foucauldian framework it refers to, provide a rather self-contained perspective of the relationship between power, self and transformation. In the previous sections the participants' bodily and spatial practices showed instead that the same freedoms valorised by moral ethics of self-responsibility and entrepreneurship could simultaneously take up and contest practices of neoliberal conduct of conduct in Turin's public spaces.

These considerations seem relevant for this study, since they may relate to the fact that the neat and sophisticated analysis enabled by the technologies of the self also provided vague insights and directions to theorise other dimensions of self-constitution, such as space and intersubjectivity, that the participants' practices and accounts explicitly highlighted. Drawing on the precious insights on the mutual constitution of power and the subject provided by the conceptual lens of technologies of the self, but also focusing on what it “leaves out”, might provide significant elements to theorise about the implications and consequences of the participants' negotiations of self, place and belonging in more detail. In the next final sections of this chapter I will explore these critical reflections in relation to the participants' practices, together with a critical discussion of readings and uses of technologies of the self in the literature on physical culture, to set up my theoretical discussion of participants' negotiations before this study's conclusion.

6.8 (NEOLIBERAL) TECHNOLOGIES OF THE SELF: RATIONALITY, INDIVIDUALISM AND THE POLITICS OF HUMAN CAPITAL

“Before I didn't know what it was, when I told them 'let's start to train parkour!' I didn't know what it was, then slowly we started to grasp what was it all about, and as time went on we realised what it produced in us, or rather I started to realise what this discipline produced in me” (Karim)

“I really enjoyed this thing you have organized [a group discussion about participants' aims and thoughts regarding their involvement in the participatory video project] because we never discussed amongst us the sense of what we do when we practice capoeira and parkour, we just do it... But now that we have been talking for a while about this I can see that from the very beginning I did this, I was shaping myself and the place I lived in, and now I can see it was not just me” (Abdelrazak)

Abdelrazak and Karim's quotes above exemplified a first important interrogative that questioned whether simply applying this conceptual lens to this study's analysis could explain all the dimensions and implications of the participants' practices of self-constitution. As addressed in chapter IV, Abdelrazak, Karim, and other participants, explicitly described their engagement in capoeira and parkour as something quite casual and spontaneous, and an involvement mostly dictated by the lack of other opportunities than by conscious rationalisation. On many occasions, the participants' further explained their involvement in both practices as a continuous, self-surpassing and unfolding process of (self) discovery rather than a planned engagement explicitly aiming to achieve a specific state of “of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality.” (Foucault, 1988, p. 19).

As discussed in the previous section, Abdelrazak meaningfully noted that the participants' goals, or *telos*, in engaging with capoeira and parkour were rather implicit and often were not recognised until after they engaged in the dialogical and participatory process of research. These elements clearly contrasted with Foucault's conception of individuals' engagement with technologies of the self as a rational, conscious activity (see also Markula and Pringle, 2006, p. 150; Lloyd, 1996, p. 258) an aspect of Foucault's concept that, according to Hall (1996) undermined its analytical potential since it was “overwhelmed by an overemphasis on

intentionality” (p. 27). The participants' initially casual, continually unfolding, but still constitutive engagement with capoeira and parkour resonated with perspectives that deconstructed action as a “rational fulfilment of prior intentions” (Johnson Hanks, 2005, p.363) especially for actors, like participants, whose marginal social positioning often threatened “to dissolve the link between intention and its fulfilment” (p. 363). The participants' accounts highlighted that they were engaged in a reflexive, though not always conscious, process of negotiation of their selves, social positioning and trajectories. Nevertheless, at least initially they based this negotiation on a set of actions mainly depending on a “judicious opportunism” (Johnson Hanks, 2005) rather than on a planned, individual and rational action.

In relation to this and the considerations addressed in the previous section, a number of critical accounts (Thompson, 2003; Hamann 2009; Dilts, 2011; Amselle, 2016) contended that Foucault's late concern with the individual and with the care of the self as a rational, planned practice constituted an eminently conservative perspective, perfectly compatible with a neoliberal conception of the subject as *homo economicus* (Amselle, 2016; see also Read, 2009; McNay, 2009). Hamann (2009) has argued that Foucault's emphasis on the care of the self and aesthetics of existence tended to fit “quite nicely to neoliberalism's aim of producing [...] individuals concerned with cultivating themselves in accord with various practices of the self.” (p. 48). McNay suggested that the process of self-formation around which the concept revolves “is uncomfortably close in structure to governance through individualization” (McNay, 2009, p. 57). Interestingly, Thompson (2003) noticed at least two distinct forms of critique and negotiation in Foucault's thought: an earlier model of “tactical reversal” (p.118) and “revolt” (see also hooks and West, 1991, p. 143), and a latter form of “aesthetics of existence” and (individual) indignation (see also McNay, 2009). As Dilts (2011) and Amselle (2016) noted, Foucault's “aesthetics of existence” envisaged critique and negotiation as an internal response, thus implying a (conservative) shift from the collective to the individual.

Although, it is not my interest here to take a position in the debate on the relationship between Foucault and neoliberalism⁶³, acknowledging criticisms and discussions on the topic enriched and elaborated on some critical insights that the data already offered, therefore contributing to address and orient my analysis of the participants' practices and their implications in the next pages. Interestingly though, as noted also by Killick (2007) and Azzarito (2007) in regard to the work of Markula and Pringle (2006), the quite conspicuous scholarship engaging with technologies of the self in relation to a wide variety of sporting practices (Markula, 2003, 2004; Markula and Pringle, 2006; Jones and Aitchison, 2006; Thorpe, 2008; Spowart et al., 2010) including capoeira and parkour (Fuggle, 2008; Owen, 2014) has seldom engaged with a critical perspective on Foucauldian thought and technologies of the self when applying the concept to the analysis of physical culture. This lack of engagement with a critical and productive debate on Foucauldian concepts while engaging with contemporary social, and sporting, scenarios may potentially be problematic for the creation of a theoretically solid and cutting edge analysis of the relationship between physical culture, power, inequality and the self. Specifically, the “two-pronged” reading of technologies of the self proposed by Lloyd (1996) and used by several authors in the sociology of sport (Markula and Pringle, 2006; Jones and Aitchison, 2006; Thorpe, 2008; Spowart et al., 2010) to conceptualise the possibilities of both ethical subjectification and social transformation, problematically reproduce the overemphasis on intentionality that the above mentioned accounts highlight as a problematic conceptualisation of agency and change (Hall, 1996a; Thompson, 2003; Hamann, 2009; Amselle, 2016).

In particular, Azzarito (2007) has acknowledged the lack of engagement with Foucault's critics and critically questioned whether thinking about one's self as a “piece of art” might be sufficient to function as transformative discursive practice

⁶³ I see taking the side on Foucault's supposed neoliberal sympathies as less productive than acknowledging what Dilts has noted “If there is a critique of neoliberalism in Foucault's final works, it is a critique that starts very much by taking the neoliberal account of subjectivity seriously” (2011, p. 145).

for (in)active bodies (p.433). The interrogatives mentioned previously, persuasively questioned whether the conceptualisation of technologies of the self *per se*, or maybe as it is, might contribute to conceptualise possibilities of subversion and transformation of unequal discursive power relations in physical cultures and social contexts (Azzarito, 2007, p. 433). In the following pages, I will draw from the ethnographic data to address this discussion and further explore the reciprocal constitution of body, space and subjectivity in the participants' practices.

6.9 WHERE ARE ALL THE SPACES GONE? BEYOND A RATIONAL, INDIVIDUALISED CONCEPTION OF SUBJECTIFICATION AND OTHER THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS

“A capoeira loves the ground: I step, I lean, I sweep, I fall, I slip on it, I make it shake. It is my ally to trick you and escape your blows. I use it and I fear it when my hands and feet take off in a jump. I never look at it, but I always feel it... yes, I learnt to know it as if through it I could know me...” (Samba, photo artwork, see Image 48)

“It's quite rare, but sometimes it happens that I am tracing, and the movements, the flow, the magic of the moment make me really feel as if I, my body is a stream of water flowing in these spaces, at the same time taking the shape of the places it flows into and transforming theirs” (Marcos)

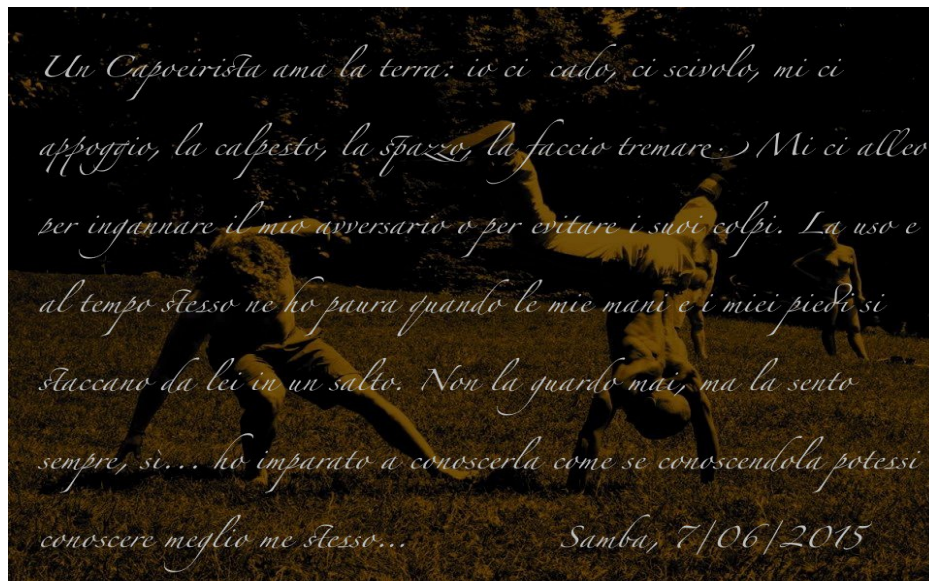


Figure 48. Samba's photo artwork on capoeira

As addressed in the previous section, a reading of technologies of the self as an intentional and individualised transformation focused on the body raised several critical accounts on its heuristic capacity to theorise the constitution of subjects within power. Furthermore, despite a diffused interpretation of the concept in emancipatory terms (Lloyd, 1996; Markula, 2003; Markula and Pringle, 2006; Thorpe, 2008; Spowart et al., 2010) persuasive doubts have been cast on the actual possibility of envisaging, theorising and enacting social transformation through this conceptual lens (Thompson, 2003; Azzarito, 2007; Hamann, 2009; McNay, 2009; Amselle, 2016). Aiming to contribute to this discussion, I draw on the data discussed in this study to contend that without recognizing the essential spatiality of the self, scholarly accounts aiming to address the negotiation of “subjectivity, freedom and possibility” (Read, 2009, p. 36) in physical culture(s) risk providing an analysis that is one sided at best. Therefore, the final section of this chapter will explore the data and insights that emerged in this study to highlight the bodily and spatial constituencies of participants' process of self-constitution as well as their (micro)political implications. In this regard, Marcos and Samba's quotes highlighted how the individualised, rational and body-focused readings of technologies of the self did not explore or sufficiently consider the spatial constituencies of the participants' process of self-fashioning. In particular, Samba's

artwork, creatively combining visual imagery and self-reflexive poetry, provided an insightful example of the significance of arts (i.e. visual, performance, writing/poetry and their combination) to explore the bodily and spatial dimensions of identity/subjectivity. I contend that Samba's spontaneous and insightful contribution to this section's discussion addressed Azzarito's (2007) interrogative on the potentialities and limitations of art to subvert and transform unequal discursive power relations in physical cultures and social contexts (Azzarito, p. 433). Samba's contribution, as well as the participants' enthusiasm in co-generating a participatory video for this study, inspired me to engage in future research enabling young people of migrant origins to create (with the collaboration and the support of professional artists) *testimonial artworks* documenting the physical/spatial process of becoming oneself in 21st century Turin, and articulating their daily lives, practices and negotiations to wider social issues in the Italian, and European context. I contend, and this study started to show, that this research perspective can explore innovative ways to make and represent research, while engaging both an academic and non-academic public (i.e. through open exhibitions), and providing performative pedagogic possibilities to tackle the operations of power in various physical and social contexts (see Giroux, 2001a, Silk et al. 2015). As for now, in this final section I will address the contribution of the discussion developed so far in this study to a body of scholarship addressing body, space, identity and power (Silk and Andrews, 2008, 2012; Friedman and Van Ingen, 2011; Fusco, 2012), to further develop works on the interrogatives, findings and analysis of this research in the future.

The importance of the perspectives highlighting how body and space are fundamental in any exercise of power (Foucault, 1990; Soja, 1996) pushes us to acknowledge also how body *and* space are implied and related in the negotiation of individuals' subjectivity. The participants' accounts in this sense indisputably highlighted the process of a reciprocal constitution of body, space and self arising in specific moments of their capoeira and parkour training. Samba and Marcos

accounts represented experiences of a “transcendent” (Wheaton, 2010), or even “extended” (Mialet, 2014), self, often described in literature in relation to the environments where informal sports are practiced (see also Saville, 2008; Atkinson, 2009, 2012), but that so far have not been addressed in relation to identity and subject construction. In this sense, both the theoretical insights and the data discussed in this and previous chapters have shown that space represented an irreducible, integral aspect of the participants' process of self-construction. Such de-centre, or rather extension, of the subject does not imply a critique or abandonment of Foucault's conceptual importance of unpacking the operations and negotiations of power enacted through the participants' practices. Rather, following Rose (1999) the acknowledgement of a spatial dimension of subjectification, engaged me in:

“an inventive and empirical relation with Foucault's work, less concerned with being faithful to a source of authority than with working within a certain ethos of enquiry, with fabricating some conceptual tools that can be set to work in relation to the particular questions that trouble contemporary thought and politics.” (p. 5)

Drawing on the addressed, intrinsic connection between images of individual, entrepreneurial freedom and disciplinary power (McNay, 2009, p. 56), I contend that it is in the simultaneous subjective and collective, and explicitly political, dimension of space (or embodied space), that the manifestation and negotiation of inequalities and bio-political governance need to become visible and be addressed.

The discussion of the spatial dimension of the participants' identity negotiation enacted in this study addressed how contested and competing representations and uses of spaces “irreducible on one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another” (Foucault, 1986 [1967], p. 23) simultaneously emerged and were conflicted by the participants' practices of unfolding self-fashioning. Therefore, space represented a site where the participants' subjective self-apprehension and self-expression simultaneously implied both the constitution of the self and the

negotiation of widespread spatial codes of conduct explicitly aiming to regulate and organize behaviour in Turin's public spaces (see also Silk and Andrews, 2012, p. 136). The participants' process of self-fashioning by capoeira and parkour practice in Turin's public spaces thus entailed an inherent (micro)political dimension in its actually embodied and spatial becoming by incidentally and contingently disrupting the city's healthified spaces and rhythms of leisure, consumption and cosmopolitanism urbanism (Binnie et al. 2006; Glick Schiller, 2015). This study's focus on the *productive* dimensions of space (Soja, 1996; Rosol, 2014) highlighted the role that the participants' contested, contingent and collective creation of (marginal) spaces took in the minute, daily constitution and negotiation of their selves *and* of social and power relations. Therefore, recognizing and exploring the spatial dimensions of the participants' process of self-constitution made visible the social consequences of this process:

“These spaces here, you see, I am more intimate with them, than with my girlfriend [laughs]! No matter what, the police, the elderly the jobs... these spaces are part of me as much as I belong to them” (Alex)

“We can be threatened with fines, we can be harassed, we can be offered 'alternative' locations, but all this shows that all these people don't get it [...] we are perceived as crazy, drugged, irresponsible vandals who run unrequested dangers and risks for us and others, but just we see these [spaces] differently, as opportunities, you know, for us to improve, to be better... here where we live, that's why they mean to us” (Marcos)

Alex' and Marcos' words showed that the contested spatial re-appropriations enacted by participants as part of their ongoing process of self-fashioning did not imply only an embodied subjective transformation but also an implicit spatial statement, and consequently a “critical querying reaction” (Lloyd, 1996, p. 258) from and to other social actors. In other words, the participants' bodily and spatial practices of self-constitution contingently forced a number of actors to take note of their engagement with urban spaces, as a simultaneously assertive and constitutive element of belonging and exclusion. The possibility of provoking a “critical

querying reaction” (Lloyd, 1996, p. 258) has been mainly theorised as a transformative consequence of a a conscious and critical use of the body (Lloyd, 1996; Markula, 2003; Markula and Pringle, 2006; Jones and Aitchison, 2006; Spowart et al, 2010) or of its representation (Thorpe, 2008). The analysis of the participants' identity negotiation contributed to this literature by showing how the participants' spontaneous embodied and spatial re-appropriations still implied the possibility to produce sites of contestation “over the meanings and contours” of belonging and citizenship in Turin's redeveloping cityscape without the assertive foregrounding of an explicit socially transformative project (Lloyd, 1996, in Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 152, and Thorpe, 2008, p. 218).

As such, this chapter's final analysis integrated the reflections and analysis provided in chapter V on the participants' spatial counter-conduct (Foucault, 2007 [1978]). The discussion about the YEPP project showed a further perspective on the reciprocal constitution and negotiation of (healthy) bodies, spaces and subjectivities in the context of research. Despite a generally shared ethos of body-management, health and self-responsibility between participants and the project, Marcos' critical perspective on the healthified and sanitized spaces promoted by YEPP highlighted two important elements for this study's discussion. First, it offered an insightful perspective to address how (disenfranchised) youth, as actors simultaneously made objects and subjects of processes of “participatory” urban regeneration, can ambivalently and critically engage with ideas of community development articulated to the creation of healthified (Fusco, 2012) and re-branded spaces in Turin (see also Silk and Andrews, 2012). Second, it re-asserted that the daily engagement with (public) spaces represented a fundamental element in the participants' process of self-fashioning, and in their emergent ethical, and political self-positioning in the city scape (see also, Soja, 1996 p. 88). The embodied and emplaced focus on participants' practices made visible (to them and to us) the invisible contradictions, ambiguities and inequalities of Turin neoliberal rebranding, and enlarged the perspective of our cultural present. The data in this

study underlined how the participants' process of self-fashioning acted both *on and through* the bodies and the spaces they daily engaged with capoeira and parkour, thus highlighting the subjective and social consequences of the participants' identity negotiation, and possibly contributing to redrawing the borders of identity, and struggle (Soja, 1996, p. 154) in contemporary societies and social analysis. The discussion provided by this study highlighted the analytical complexities and promises of an approach articulating Lefebvre's trialectics of space (1991) with the spatialisation of Foucauldian analysis of power, as mused by Soja (1996), and a detailed analysis of the embodied, structural and discursive constituencies of power and identity. The discussion developed so far, although ongoing and partial, provides meaningful elements of discussion to Physical Cultural Studies' scholarship by critically analysing the intersection between space, power, the self and the body (see Friedman and Van Ingen, 2011; Pink, 2011; Fusco, 2012; Silk and Andrews, 2008, 2012; Manley and Silk, 2014). Since it is not possible at this point to theorise and elaborate further on the extent of the participants' unfolding negotiations both at a subjective and social level, this exploration will have to be the subject of future research. The following conclusions of this work will relate and articulate the study's findings, and explore the theoretical and methodological implications and future directions of research regarding the issues I have begun to address in this study. In addition, I will critically address the methodological possibilities this study offered for exploring *with the participants* the possibilities of naming, making visible and possibly acting on the conditions characterising their, and our, daily lives.

7. CONCLUSIONS

“We ask you expressly to discover

that what happens all the time is not natural.

For to say that something is natural

in such times of bloody confusion

of ordained disorder,

of systematic arbitrariness,

of inhuman humanity,

is to regard it as unchangeable.”

(Bertold Brecht, *The Rules and the Exception*, 1930)

Engaging with potentially innovative theoretical/methodological strategies to articulate the relationship between power, body, space and identity, this study aimed to offer a complex reading of participants' identity negotiation that did not ignore the most pressing social issues of our time (Giroux, 2001a; Silk et al. 2015), but rather addressed them by exploring the nexus between “the physical” (Silk et al., 2015) and a range of poignant social issues. Through a multi-layered analysis of participants' public engagement with capoeira and parkour, I have interrogated the historical, socio-economic and political processes and discourses that made invisible and naturalised children of migration's embodied and emplaced prerogatives and essentialised identities in early 21st Turin urban spaces. I have also addressed participants' ambivalent bodily and spatial negotiations of these

processes and unpacked their capacity to hold together the agentic and the structural in their manifestation (See Dilts, 2011; Pavidilis, 2012; Francombe, 2014). Following Andrews and Giardina (2008, p. 403), this work offered a “far-reaching, radically contextual” theorisation of contemporary (physical) cultural practices and their varied articulations relating to contemporary hugely debated issues regarding migration, identity, citizenship, inequality and the context-specific emergence of neoliberal ethos and spatial/body politics. In making the focus of my research the analysis of *bodies in space* (Silk and Andrews, 2011) as a crucial site to locate the reproduction and negotiation of power in our everyday life, I have sought to theorise the daily practices of the young men in this study in order to not restrict the creation of a critical, productive dialogue only with an academic audience. As part of its engaged and ethical objectives, the design, enactment and final product(s) of this research aim to remain relevant to the participants of this study, and to provide means for a critical, productive dialogue that is meaningful both inside and outside academia. Following these leads, this concluding discussion will start with some considerations regarding the theoretical/methodological sensibility of this study. I contend the inter- and, multi-disciplinary character of this theoretical and methodological sensibility requires a final discussion as it represents one of this study's findings, meaningfully articulating with its theoretical analysis.

7.1 BODIES, SPACES AND TEXTS OF INQUIRY AND ASSERTION

The discussion of the ethnographic material collected during fieldwork drew on several methodological sources: ethnographic observant participation, research diary entries, urban planning/social initiatives and policies, semi-structured interviews and focus groups excerpts, quotes from casual and informal conversations, and visual images in the form of researcher's and participants' photos and videos. All these methodological instruments produced different kind of texts, and therefore stories, addressing similar issues from various angles and

through various languages: the language of policies, media reports, social science analysis, the self-reflexive accounts of the researcher, the fluid, multiple, ambivalent and visual language(s) of participants. As Laurel Richardson (1994, 2000) reminds us, language does not reflect social reality, but produces meaning and create social reality: language reflects how social organization and power are defined and contested, and represents one of the sites where our sense of self, our subjectivity, are constructed (p. 518). As such, through this multi-method qualitative approach I engaged in an articulation of dominant discourses and personal narratives (those of the researcher and those of participants), in order to understand children of migration's unfolding identity journeys, acknowledging that there is no single text “saying everything to everyone” from a single theoretical and methodological perspective (Richardson 1994, p. 518). In the analysis of this research, multiple, asymmetrical perspectives dialogued, struggled, contradicted themselves, posed questions, tested and challenged theories, helping to develop a multifaceted, *crystallized* (Richardson 1994; Richardson and Adams St.Pierre 2005), as well as historical and contextual, understanding of children of immigrants daily struggles and identity negotiations in early 21st century Turin. I assembled these diverse ethnographic voices to accurately represent participants' experiences and practices through an unfolding, multidisciplinary integrated process of *bricolage* (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001, 2005; Lincoln, 2001), inspired by and combining the creativity and analytical rigour that the field of research both offered and required (see also Lincoln, 2001; Richardson and Adams St. Pierre, 2005).

Addressing Turin's historical, socio-economic and political framework enabled me “to see beyond the literalness of the observed” (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 686) in the field. It enabled to include in my analysis the processes that influenced participants' lives and trajectories, that contributed to define how their immigrant (male) bodies were made object of surveillance and governance and were eventually identified in Turin's redeveloping spaces. By engaging with diverse forms of structural analysis though, I did not however lose sight that living and breathing actors are the subjects

“around which and with which” (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 342) meaning, practice, identity are being made.

I engaged in depth with participants and participants' daily practices, to interrogate how the materialisation of social positioning and categories in public spaces could influence the construction of children of immigrants' sense of self, self-worth, and belonging in Italian society, and how participants negotiated these processes. As such, I used my own embodied presence and participation in the field as a further point of reflection and analysis when addressing the meanings and stakes of participants' engagement in capoeira and parkour. My embodied observant participation in capoeira and parkour enabled not only to get access to participants' groups, their values and meanings, but also to *contaminate* the research process (Richardson, 1994) and address the “co-emergence” (Francombe et al., 2014 p. 479) of knowledge and meaning stemming from the relationship between my and participants' bodies. A self-reflexive, critical awareness of my presence and engagement in capoeira and parkour with participants enabled to interrogate also how my situated body impacted the research practice and context, and how my physicality was part of the meaning making process that occurred in the research (Francombe et al., 2014, p. 474). As such, I used my embodied self-reflexivity to recognize my voice and make it an analytical tool to dialogue with participants:

Karim told me the other day “This thing you are doing, trying to understand about how we do capoeira, parkour, but also about our stories behind it, about foreigners in general here in Italy, I don't think you do it just because of your work, all along this time, it looked like it is something that regards you a lot”. He got me unprepared, if we were in a *roda*, I would have slipped on the floor for not being ready to answer promptly to his question. I stammered a bit, then thought few seconds and finally talked with him about my own interconnected experiences between capoeira, change, my own simultaneous estrangement and familiarity with my social world, and my own “privileged” migration, to The Netherlands first, and then to UK. What this research did for them, in terms of enhancing their reflexivity on what they were actually doing with capoeira and parkour everyday, and how they were doing it, it did also for me. The questions I asked them were the same I made to myself, and I often compared mine and their perspectives to understand better *from where* my and their answers

came from, what different, and similar, desires and consequences were at stake in mine, and theirs, engagement in capoeira and parkour. The verbal and non-verbal interaction got engaging and intense, what divided us in terms of age, class, background, status didn't hinder to talk about issues usually difficult to address in a friendly casual conversation or in a research interview; we both talked as if knowing that somehow our experiences about how we engaged in capoeira, parkour, or both, resonated with the other. "Sometimes is hard though, I just don't know where and how I will end". Karim's eyes filled with water, and I had neither answers nor consolation words to offer him, only a (supposedly) encouraging hand on his shoulder and me sitting there with him. (Research diary entry, 23rd April 2015)

By placing and reflecting on the possibilities, and limitations, of my embodied presence in the field I was unquestionably engaged in studying cultures of the body through my bodily practices (Giardina and Newman 2011a), and in analysing identity construction through my own embodied, unfolding process of self-constitution. Using my own body as an instrument of reflection on identity, power and society I accepted, engaged with, and nurtured my voice in order to inform my analysis and in order to create a narration that revealed also how the roles of interviewee/interviewer, observer/observed, and author were related (see also Linden, 1993; Richardson, 1994) in the research and knowledge production process. As such, recognising and exploring my voice enabled to situate my analysis in the historically contextualized, political, sensual, embodied and reciprocal relationship with the interlocutors of this study and avoided to hide it amongst the voices of participants (see Fine, 1992). By employing and connecting diverse methodological dimensions I engaged and made visible (to me, to participants, to the reader) a variety of eclipsed features of participants' social world (see Kincheloe, 2005, p. 346) and contributed to a participated co-construction of individual, and collective, narratives.

7.1.1 Narration as Unfolding Self-Constitution: Co-constructed Texts and Collective Voices

"To satisfy ignorance is to put off writing until tomorrow, or rather to

make it impossible.” (Deleuze, 1994, p.xxi in Rose, 1999, p. 13)

The complex narratives and discussions provided by this study in form of testimonial narratives reflected the multiple and flexible methodological engagement of this research in addressing individuals' process of self-constitution. The creation of such complex, intimate and multilayered accounts would not have been possible without the engagement with the set of qualitative methods used, as different elements of participants' lives and practices emerged in different moments, through different means of relation and interaction (Kincheloe, 2001; Spyrou 2011). It would not have been possible to address specific, and to a certain extent intimate, aspects of participants' lives in public ethnographic moments of group training. As well, it would not be possible to engage with their intense, sometimes contradictory, reflections on identity, belonging and change without their participation in animated, messy, vocal and intense focus groups discussions and exchanges with other participants in the research. As acknowledged by participants in various moments during fieldwork, it was the continuous, self-surpassing process of (physical) knowledge co-construction (and re-construction) that contributed to the recognition and connection of specific, apparently unrelated issues composing the materiality of (our) daily life. As such, I contend that participants' testimonial narratives reflected the achievement of one important objectives which motivated the methodological choices of this project: the constitution of a creative space simultaneously asserted for (self)inquiry, (self)expression, and communal assertion, achieved also through stating, and including difference (Finley, 2005, p. 689; see also Kincheloe, 2001). The co-generated texts drawing from multiple ethnographic material that composed Marcos', Karim's and Cosmin's testimonial narratives was one that I could not envisage clearly in designing this research, as I did not have a clear idea with what data I would have to work with, and to what extent it would have been possible to work with participants. However this moment of the research process came to be one of the fundamental, and most delicate, in the study, one where it became fundamental having “worked the hyphen” (Fine 1994) in the research process, being conscious of my relations with participants, and of the unescapable power

relations and differences involved in our collaboration. As I and Marcos, Karim, Cosmin (but the same applied to the other participants whose words you have read in the previous chapters) started to work to construct their testimonial narrative, it became increasingly clear that such process was quite different from a “traditional” data analysis, rather it still was part of the inquiry process, which involved both me and them at different levels (see also Richardson, 1994; Richardson and Adams St-Pierre, 2005). Discussing the issues, information and facts which composed participants' testimonial narratives was part of a methodological choice meant to emblematically situate participants' stories within the historical present (see Silk et al., 2015). Furthermore though, it involved for the participants a process of facing, re-elaborating, re-defining, and to a certain extent coming to terms with, their selves and their stories. Following Brah (1996, p. 10), the narrator did not “unfold, but [was] produced in the process of narration” (p. 10).

Participants' narratives highlighted their liminal position at the edge of various social worlds: their adoptive country and their communities of origin. They showed the capacity of these young men to look inside these worlds, highlighted their feeling to be from both estranged, but also expressed the desire and commitment to meaningfully and creatively engage with both realities. Throughout their narratives, participants' showed that by being positioned in various ways in shifting hierarchies of belonging (Back et al., 2012) and addressing how they were perceived by others, they came to question also how they perceived themselves, not only as individuals, but also as collective subjects (i.e. as male, (post)migrant bodies) (Brah, 1996). The co-constructed process of writing testimonial narratives represented a further moment of insights and reflection over the embodied and enplaced construction and continuous redefinition of participants' identification. It highlighted the significance of addressing *becoming* rather than *being* in researching identity and migration (see also Richardson and Adam St. Pierre, 2005), therefore enabling to address and represent participants' contested and obstinate journey of self -constitution. Such process, that highlighted the role of writing as a process of inquiry (Richardson 1994) for both the researcher and

research participants, was enhanced and gained a further unique perspective through the collaborative construction of a collective visual narration that involved eight young men in the group of participants.

7.1.2 (Participatory) Filming as a Method of Inquiry: Innovative Narrative Means to Address Identity

Visual methods has been widely used and discussed in social sciences (Clark-Ibanez, 2004; Pink, 2007; Lomax, 2012; Guillemin and Drew, 2010; Ball and Gilligan, 2010) as an especially appropriate methodology with young people for whom providing description and views of their experiences and (embodied) identity processes is not an easy task (Clark Ibanez, 2004). More recently the promises, and challenges, of visual methods have been increasingly debated in a growing number of research addressing physical practices and the (in)active body (Phoenix 2010; Phoenix and Smith, 2011; Merchant, 2011; Azzarito, 2010, 2012; Azzarito and Kirk, 2013; Mills and Hoeber 2012; Enright and O' Sullivan, 2012; Cherrington and Watson, 2009; Jones et al., 2014). The use of visual methods to create a participatory video-documentary⁶⁴ with eight research participants drew on this insightful debate on the exploration of visual methods to perform social research on the (in)active body. Differently from most of the current research using visual methods, though I did not intend the co-creation of a participated video documentary only as a sensible means of data collection in addition to ethnographic observation and interviews (Clark Ibanez, 2004; Azzarito, 2010), but also as means for the creation of collective narratives, processes of inquiry (Richardson, 1994) and (self)transformation. Following these premises, I intended the production of a participatory video-documentary as an act of border crossings between academic disciplines and social groups that constructs a continuity between the academic endeavour of this study (and its methodological and

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The video can be watched at this link: <https://vimeo.com/145561965> password: makingbridges

analytical rigour and requirements) and participants' visual culture (see also Pink, 2007; Phoenix and Smith 2011).

Consistently with the emancipatory aims of several studies using visual methods, the participated co-construction of a collective video-narrative involved participants as knowers or “experts of their own lives” (Azzarito, 2012, p. 297) and represented a fundamental element enabling to build a relationship with participants that mitigated researcher/researched power relations.

Nevertheless, the ongoing debate with participants regarding aims, means and logistics of co-constructing a participatory video highlighted also to all actors involved the complexities, possibilities and limitations of the use of participatory visual methods in the research process. The continuous discussions with participants on the meaning and aims of collaborative video-making represented a meaningful opportunity to discuss the power of means of representation, and to address critically the capacity of images to create “truth”. Unpacking the supposed capacity of video to provide a “pure vision” (Azzarito and Kirk, 2013, p. 6; see also Jones et al., 2014) regarding social reality and the issues addressed by the research was the theme of an ongoing discussion with participants. Recognizing with participants the possibilities and limitations provided by the co-construction of collective (self)representations allowed also to problematise the visual perspective provided by the participatory work as “an indisputable representation of [participants'] reality” (Jones et al., 2014, p. 399), and to bring to the fore the power imbalances that the use and presence of cameras created also within (and outside) participants' group (see also Silk et al., 2015). The constant discussion and negotiation over the implications, meaning and aims of using cameras during fieldwork contributed to interrogate the promises and challenges of participatory visual methods beyond self-celebratory and self-absolving (c)aims of emancipatory research. As such, the co-constructed collective narrative represented by the video-documentary does not aim to provide an indisputable representation of the reality of participants' lives and of the research context (Jones et al., 2014), but

rather a multiple, inherently ambiguous one, aiming to trigger an active construction of emergent meanings, and questions in the viewer. Following these premises, the participatory video accompanying this study integrates the analysis conducted in these pages, adding one more layer of representation and contextualisation to those provided in this work. The situated perspective proposed by the participatory video was developed in interaction and continuous reciprocal constitution with ethnographic, textual and narrative methods, and acted as a meaningful instrument to place participants' views in the foreground, to help contextualize the field of research, and to multiply the means through which participants' could express their perspectives and insights. Through this methodological approach the use of visual methods represented a pedagogical tool (Azzarito 2012; Azzarito and Kirk 2013) to engage with participants (and hopefully the viewer) in a critical dialogue about the relationship between the self, body, space, and society (Azzarito, 2012, p. 297) and issues of power related to the creation of representations of reality. Such ongoing, participatory, and co-generated discussion informed participants' use of video as a means of self and collective narration which brought together, and implicitly articulated, their stories and their movements with the contexts they lived in, a way participants used to show "Turin from their eyes" (in the words of Cosmin). Following this leads, I argue that in the research process visual methods not only enabled the production of "culturally sensitive, relevant and contextualized" data (Azzarito 2012, p. 296). Echoing Manley and Silk's (2014) reflections on the temporary reclaiming of (surveillance) technologies by citizens, I see the participated co-construction of a collective narrative by participants as a (further) attempt to speak and not being spoken on (Pink 2007; Azzarito 2010), to recognize and reclaim their own voice(s), to stake out public space, and to level the truths created by regimes of representation in their lives. Although the consequences of participants' recognition and reclaiming of a (collective) voice cannot be anticipated, I contend that this process in itself represents a meaningful result of the research process, and one worth of further analysis and exploration, as the findings of this study that I am going to address in the following concluding sections.

7.2 OF THE BORDER(S) AT THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BORDER: THE MULTIPLE READINGS OF OUR HISTORICAL, CULTURAL, PHYSICAL PRESENT FROM THE LENS OF CAPOEIRA AND PARKOUR

“The problem is not therefore to follow a static conception of borders that we would imagine laid down once and for all, but to adopt a dynamic conception of borders where borders are themselves on the move.” (Bigo, 2006, p. 28)

Summer 2015. As I draw this analysis to a close, fences, barbed wires, armed border patrols and militarised checkpoints are steadily growing all over Europe, not only around its geographical (Lampedusa, Kos), and externalised limits (Ceuta and Melilla, Reunion), but in its own hearth: Calais, Ventimiglia, the Hungary-Serbia border. While this emerging “Age of Walls” unfolds, I cannot avoid thinking about the parallels, the connections between participants' practices and identity negotiations and the present, and future, issues that European governments are (not) addressing, by treating migrants and asylum seekers more than ever as a threatening security and public order problems, when not as an invasion *tout-court*.

“Some borders are no longer situated at the borders at all” wrote Etienne Balibar in 2002 (p. 84). Further contributions (Balibar, 2004; Mezzadra, 2006; Friese and Mezzadra, 2010; 2010; Back et al. 2012; Vacchiano, 2013; Manley and Silk, 2014) elaborated further this image, by describing the complex hierarchies of belonging (Back et al. 2012) and the (in)visible, widespread checkpoints (Balibar, 2004; Manley and Silk, 2014) that organize, distribute, and monitor the bodies and the lives of millions of individuals across lines of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, legal status *within* contemporary European societies and urban spaces. The idea of a *deterritorialization of the borders* (Mezzadra, 2006) cannot be referred anymore only to the stretching and projection of borders “hundreds of miles further from the geographical lines that delineate Europe” (Friese and Mezzadra, 2010, p. 304). The same image can nowadays indicate also to an emerging “border regime apparatus” (Mezzadra, 2006, p.39) operating *within* our societies, producing a “selective and differential inclusion of migrants” (p.39) and

establishing different forms of access to citizenship, justified by an increasing and generalized state of national and public insecurity in advanced capitalist societies (Bigo, 2006, 2011). As Mezzadra has argued, “the effect of this border regime is to produce a movement of selective and differential inclusion of migrants, which corresponds to the permanent production of a plurality of statuses [...], [and] which tends to disrupt the universal and unitary figure of modern citizenship” (Mezzadra 2006, p. 39). Following Mezzadra's arguments, this study contends that this process affects not only the migrants, but increasingly also the common ways of regarding space, membership, rights, labour, security, identity, “us” and “the others” (2006; see also Vacchiano, 2013).

Through the lens of bodily and spatial practices like capoeira and parkour, this study thus offered a unique perspective on groups of children of immigrants' negotiations of the *borders at the other side of the border*, of the incorporated and emplaced line of differentiation increasingly dividing individuals and social groups *in* urban spaces across legal, racial, classed, gendered axis, and across portrayals of (un)acceptable diversity. I started my analysis by addressing how participants creatively used their engagement with capoeira and parkour to respond and displace the shifting (ethnic and racial) hierarchies of belonging (Back et al., 2012) influencing their sense of self, and influencing their current and future social trajectories in Turin social spaces. Not only the extra-ordinary public performances of capoeira and parkour in Turin spaces enabled participants to temporarily displace the established (ethnic) prerogatives of their male (post)migrant bodies. Participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour provided them also means to engage in a process of self-fashioning that enabled to engage, not without conflicts and reproduction of exclusive dynamics (i.e. in regard to gender relations), in a process of self-construction that did not refer exclusively to assimilationist desires or identity politics, but created unexpected identifications, enabling them to stand “in many circles but with common grounds” (Glick Schiller et al. 2011, p. 401). The fluid and ambivalent characteristics of capoeira and parkour, both with their differences and similarities balancing between informality and structure, repetition

and innovation, seemed to represent an embodied and spatial translation of participants' attempts to play with *the instability, the permanent unsettlement, the lack of any final resolution* (Hall, 1990, p. 228) characterizing their identities. Participants' diasporic cosmopolitan identifications (Glick Schiller et al., 2011; Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2013; Glick Schiller, 2015) addressed in chapter IV offered a possible perspective to look at emerging forms of identity in contemporary societies beyond the lens of hybridity and super-diversity and their shortcomings, blind to the commodification, and de-politicisation, of diversity (Mercer, 2000; Alexander, 2002), and to the unequal and contradictory outcomes produced by neoliberal restructuring of urban space and governance (Glick Schiller, 2012, p. 528). Consistently with these reflections, the perspective on identity developed in this study enabled also to articulate participants' bodily and spatial negotiations of the neoliberal spatial and social transformations aiming to change the-city-that-(once)-looked-like-a-factory in a cosmopolitan centre of culture and entertainment. The analysis in chapter V addressed Turin's "multiculturalism from above" (Schmoll and Semi, 2013), articulating it with emerging patterns of transnational gentrification (Sigler and Wachsman, 2015) and surveillance *orientations* (Manley and Silk, 2014; Bauman and Lyon, 2013) in its regenerating urban spaces. The contradictory reactions and interactions that participants' public practice of capoeira and parkour triggered represented a meaningful observation point of the complex and competing discourses and practices regulating spaces and bodies in Turin, as both capoeira and parkour, and the performing bodies enacting them, were contingently and differently included and excluded in Turin redeveloping spectacle. The focus of participants' engagement with capoeira and parkour enabled therefore to address the contradictions, inequalities and contingencies of the less-than-coherent neoliberal assemblage (McQuirk and Dowing, 2009) characterizing Turin cosmopolitan rebranding. This focus enabled to illuminate the city's (in)visible and pervasive lines of differentiation, and to address participants' micro-political disruptions of Turin's emerging spatial and social order.

Participants' practices highlighted the paradox of Turin's urban regeneration and reclaiming of urban neighbourhoods for the development of the cosmopolitan city. The analysis of participants' contested and ambivalent practices highlighted how “the other” was constructed as not only necessary for the success of the urban regeneration project, but also as threatening to this form of city making, when associated with images of incompatible difference, poverty, and “disruptive” uses of space (Glick Schiller, 2015).

Participants' movements and practices in urban spaces highlighted such paradox, and enabled to articulate, through their conflicts and spatial negotiations, their contingent membership in the city public life and polity, strictly tied to the (lack of) compliance of their (post)migrant bodies to the spatial-temporal markers of acceptable diversity promoted and valued in Turin social spaces.

The last chapter drew on the previous two to extend my reflection and interrogate participants' practices in relation to the reciprocal constitution of bodies and spaces minutely enacted in our daily lives within pervasive, neoliberal moral imperatives of self-fashioning, autonomy, and accountability. Following these premises I explored the neoliberal condition not just as an (incoherent and multiple) economic and political program, but also through the lens of the desires, aspirations and moralities conveyed through minute, daily aspects of our lives, from health/body management to work, consumption and leisure. Through this lens I highlighted how participants' deep investment in capoeira and capoeira related to images of self-constitution and social mobility meaningfully aligned with neoliberal imperatives of self-fulfilment, self-monitoring, and a general investment in, and labor on, the “self” (Read, 2009; McNay, 2009). Participants' bodies, practices and ambitions seemed to respond to the necessity “to make themselves as mobile, flexible and fluid as transnational capital” (Lipsitz, 2003, p. 20). However participants' experiences and negotiations did not provide an image of young men deceived in consuming alluring promises of self-transformation and mobility, or selflessly embodying and reproducing the contradictions of a neoliberal fictional

story line (Francombe, 2014). Rather, the data discussed showed participants as ambivalent agents of promotion and simultaneous, situational contestation of neoliberal individualized utopias (Bauman, 1998), as actors able to situationally destabilize social and power relations by *poaching* the same “freedoms” neoliberalism requires (Massey, 2005). In continuity with Chapter V discussion, I showed how, despite a generally shared neoliberal ethos of body-management, health and self-responsibility, participants ambivalently and critically responded to local(ized) social projects aiming to tackle disenfranchised, mainly migrant, youth “unhealthy” free-time through and regenerate public urban spaces through sporting activities (see also Fusco, 2012; Agergaard et al., 2015). Participants' ambivalent and critical engagement with such initiatives aiming to tame space (Massey, 2005; Fusco, 2012) and disenfranchised youth's time (see Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996) showed that participants' daily engagement with capoeira and parkour in public spaces represented a fundamental element in their process of self-constitution *and* in their emergent ethical, and political self-positioning in the city scape (see also, Soja, 1996 p. 88). Following these leads, the chapter's conclusion on body, space, power and the self both finalised the analysis offered by this work and opened future lines of enquiry. I engaged with the concept of technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988) as it persuasively addressed participants as actors both subjected to and exerting power in the context of research (see also Markula and Pringle, 2006). However, in critically discussing the concept and its capacity to theorise possibilities of ethical subjectification and social transformation, as proposed by several scholars in and out sociology of sports (Lloyd, 1996; Markula, 2003, 2004; Markula and Pringle, 2006; Jones and Aitchison, 2006, 2007; Thorpe, 2008; Spowart et al., 2010; Fuggle, 2008), I highlighted the necessity to acknowledge and study the essential spatiality of the self in order to explore the negotiation of “subjectivity, freedom and possibility” (Read, 2009, p. 36). The data presented in this work underlined how the concept of technologies of the self, although meaningfully addressing participants' process of subjection/subjectification, missed to *emplace* participants' process of becoming subjects (Foucault, 1983). By conceptualising the process of making oneself a subject as internal, rational and mainly embodied, technologies of the self, and its subsequent readings, missed to

consider the role of the contexts *where* such process can take place. This aspect was one that took a fundamental role in defining participants' identity negotiation in the research, one that articulated the internal and social aspects and consequences of their becoming subjects (within discourse). This study's focus on the *productive*, in a Foucauldian sense, dimensions of space (Soja, 1996; Rosol, 2014) enabled to highlight the role that participants' contested and contingent creation of (marginal) spaces took in the minute, daily constitution and negotiation of their selves *and* of social and power relations.

Significantly, although a spatialisation of a Foucauldian analysis of power has been developed by several authors (Soja, 1996; Crampton and Elden, 2012; Philo, 1992 2012; Huxley, 2012) I contend that the spatial dimension has not been equally explored specifically in relation to the identity/subject formation, and I aim to explore further this dimension in future research. The data in this study underlined that participants' process of self-fashioning acted both *on and through* the bodies *and* the spaces they daily engaged through capoeira and parkour, thus highlighting the subjective and social consequences and possibilities of participants' identity negotiation, possibly contributing to redraw the borders of identity, and struggle (Soja, 1996, p. 154) in contemporary social analysis.

7.3 CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS: RESEARCHING IDENTITY AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF IMAGINING PHYSICAL POLITICS OF HOPE

The discussion made in this work highlighted, as stated in its first pages, the inherently political nature of identity (Hall, 1996a). Such consideration does not represent in itself a novelty, as almost 25 years ago Stuart Hall highlighted the emergence of “new subjects” that “hitherto excluded from the major forms of cultural representation, unable to locate themselves except as de-centred or

subaltern, have acquired through struggle, sometimes in very marginalized ways, the means to speak for themselves for the first time” (1991, p. 34). However, the consequences of this emergence are far from settled in the European social and political context, characterised, as mentioned above, by “crisis of multiculturalism” and “clash of civilisations” discourses within a historical context marked by the hugest displacement of human beings towards Europe in decades. Following these premises, the findings provided by this study can provide significant insights to inform contemporary debates on cultural assimilation and “authenticity”, identity and citizenship, migration, social justice, and to confront increasingly revanchist and xenophobic logics currently taking place in Europe. As Trinh (1989) acknowledged “What is at stake is not only the hegemony of western cultures, but also their identities as unified cultures; in other words, the realization that there is a Third World in every First World, and vice versa” (p. 23). This study started to explore and called for the necessity to develop a theoretical, methodological, and socially relevant vocabulary enabling to understand, address and tackle the interconnections between physical culture, the neoliberal condition, migration, racialisation, gender, urbanity, cosmopolitanism, citizenship and social justice in contemporary societies and cities. It highlighted the need to engage with and foster already existing, unexpected, innovative practices of “everyday multiculturalism” (Schmoll and Semi, 2013) and solidarity in our urban contexts. Finally, it underlined the necessity, and the possibility, to foster alliances that cross academic disciplines, engage with individuals and communities, support and create experiences that can “speak the truth to power” (Said, 1993 in Silk et al., 2015, p. 3) and possibly make a difference in our daily environments, cities, and societies.

Following the premises and ongoing development of a PCS sensibility (Silk and Andrews, 2011; Newman and Giardina, 2011a, 2011b; Francombe et al., 2014; Silk et al., 2015), this study explored the participants' practices and negotiations through an intellectually multi-positioned endeavour that engaged with multiple, intersecting theoretical/methodological perspectives to highlight innovative, and alternative understandings of current social conditions. Specifically, by engaging

with both the concepts of identity and subjectivity, I explored from different “angles of approach” (Richardson, 1994, p. 522) the entanglement of body, space, power and self in the context of research. Exploring capoeira and parkour in relation to the participants' identity negotiations enabled me to consider and include in my analysis the "external" categories and identifications acted upon, and negotiated by participants in Turin's urban spaces (i.e. as immigrants, aliens, contingent citizens). Furthermore, exploring the participants' engagement with both disciplines enabled me also to unpack the more profound, embodied and emplaced elements through which the nexus of power, knowledge and discourse influenced the participants' own interpretation of their selves, of truth, and of moral obligations (Foucault, 1984). This contextualised, multifaceted perspective enabled me to explore and address the role and intersection of physical/leisure practices, ethnicity, place, and gender in constituting, and negotiating experiences of marginality and contingent citizenship in early 21st Turin's cityscape for a group of young men of migrant origins.

I contend that the discussion provided in this work showed an exploration of “the physical”, as a “primary terrain for the articulation of power and bios” (Francombe et al., 2014, p. 2), represents a key focus from where to start to explore such innovative theoretical, methodological and socially relevant vocabulary. If it has been acknowledged that the bio-political question, the “fight around of bio-power” (Latour, 2004, p. 20), represents a crucial issue of contemporaneity (Foucault, 2008 [1978-1979]), I contend that an advancement of theoretical analysis on the contested, reciprocal constitution of healthy, self-responsible and productive *bodies and spaces* can provide us means to address, illuminate, and critically pinpoint, the pervasiveness of bio-political neoliberal governmentality (see Francombe et al., 2014) in our daily lives. A further development of this perspective in future research might benefit from dialoguing with theoretical, epistemological and ontological perspectives such as non-representational (Thrift, 2007; Saville, 2008, see also Pink, 2011) and post-human (Latour, 2004, 2005; Mialet, 2014; Markula, 2014) scholarship. However, at this point it is important to recognise that the

current study, although with the acknowledged tensions and limitations, and the unique, fluid, embodied and emplaced constituencies of capoeira and parkour represent meaningful empirical, and theoretical/methodological bases from where to contribute to debates on the mutual constitution of the (extended) self, (bio)power, and spatiality. As such, this study represented a further, meaningful step in an ongoing, critical reflection that pose the emplaced, moving body *and* the embodied space as crucial sites from which to observe, analyse, and act on, the unfolding constitution and negotiation of power and subjectivity in contemporary urban spaces.

Capoeira and parkour thus represented meaningful physical, and spatial, events, and their (both contested and commodified) practice highlighted a “constellation of processes” in movement (Massey, 2005, p. 141, in Pink, 2011, p.348). As ambivalent, informal, contradictory, and vaguely codified bodily disciplines (Fuggle, 2008), both capoeira and parkour embodied and emplaced creativity and repetition, resistance and reproduction of dominant regimes of representations, individualized visions of the subject, and possible instruments of (contingent) citizenship. In many different ways and forms both practices, and the multiple, unfolding ways the participants' engaged with them, simultaneously reproduced and challenged social hierarchies, relations and inequalities. A conclusive, coherent definition and analysis of capoeira and parkour as they were observed in the field is neither possible nor looked for by this study. However, unpacking the ambivalent elements which structured the enactment of such practices in the context of research enabled to understand the manifold, ongoing, competing constituencies of participants' journey of self-constitution, to illuminate the conditions of possibilities enabling and constraining the participants' identity journeys, and therefore to highlight their social and political, negotiations.

It is legitimate to ask if, and to what extent, participants' micro-political bodily and spatial negotiations can represent meaningful ways to address and impact on the shifting forms of citizenship and exclusion taking shape in contemporary post-

political, and post-democratic, urban spaces (Swyngedouw, 2009, 2011; McLeod, 2011; Rosol, 2014). This study addressed such question by making visible how contemporary processes of exclusion and inequality are localised in the daily, mundane constituency of (active) bodies and spectacular, healthified urban spaces (see Fusco, 2012). Therefore, even though participants' practices and negotiations could not challenge such dominant regimes of truth and representation, they informed possibilities to criticize and act on such processes, and on the discourses of “progress”, development and well-being they (re)produce. It is our role, not only as academics, but as citizens and cultural workers, to engage with these negotiations, and to disseminate and bring to the fore the possibilities to write, and create other possible social paths, and other possible histories (Corsin-Jimenez, 2013).

Through its situated and contextualised perspective, this research did not aim therefore to provide a self-containing and analysis of the practices observed, and to address exhaustively all the issues related to the intersectional identities (re)produced and negotiated in contemporary societies and urban spaces. It contributed though to provide a contextualised understanding of “where we are” (Grossberg, 1997, p. 254), and “what time of the night it is” (Truth, 1962, in Lipsitz, 2004, p. ix) by addressing the complex entanglement of identity, body, space and power, of local, daily struggles and global issues in a specific context in our late-capitalist cultural present. It is a fact that we will all step from this mark and this historical moment to get somewhere else. It is a commitment for who is writing that academic endeavours, like this and future ones, can possibly contribute to the accomplishment that somewhere else implies somewhere “better”, in terms of chances of social justice, civil rights, economic and political equality, for not just a (few) number of us.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: Example of fieldnotes and research diary (in *italics*)

9th May 2014. “Soufiane”. As I pass down Carmagnola Street at the height of the park where the others are training I meet Azzedine (16 years old Lazer’s younger brother). We greet each other, and casually chat about the latest. Azzedine is very happy, he will pass his classes at school this year and next year is going to play for a professional football team. With Azzedine there is a mate whom I have seen around but never actually met. We introduce each other, “Soufiane” he says as from a distance, coldly, detached and somehow suspicious.

As we talk, a motorbike passes quickly and loudly in front of us, it turns the corner, then comes back and stops in front of one of the abandoned factories ‘entrances’ that face the right side of the park—a hole made in the perimeter wall. One guy jumps off the bike and quickly compose a number with his mobile. A couple of minutes later a young Moroccan guy comes out through the wall’s hole, he could be 2 or 3 years older than Azzedine. Azzedine looks at the scene and utters some words to Soufiane in Moroccan, amongst which I recognise *harraga* (or “those who burn” in Moroccan; undocumented and unaccompanied minors who burn their IDs before leaving Morocco by literally any means possible. The image of burning relates also to the burning of borders, and often their lives to reach Europe, but also to make, and “burn” money as fast as possible with the idea to go back home with the means to build a two-storey house, buy a taxi, or open a market stall/shop). I somehow bluntly ask Azzedine if the guy is what he would call a *harraga*, and Azzedine explains, as it were obvious, that I can deduct it from the way the guy is dressed: fake brands shorts and t-shirts, but traditional Moroccan *babouche* (slippers). He

adds “They don't dress like *us*”, highlighting the “obvious” difference between his, and his friend, “street-style” t-shirt, shorts, and trainers, and the *harragas* outfit. The *harraga* and the motorbike guy talk for a while near the motorbike, then the first gets on the bike and tries to start it [...] The motor-guy looks at the scene amused and not at all worried about the fact that his friend who is clearly not an expert, is driving a powerful motorbike at 80 km/h in such a small street. The test-drive ends without accidents, and they both enter the factory. As they enter, the motor-guy blinks at Azzedine, and asks if he can look after the bike. Azzedine nods in a gesture of silent authoritativeness. In the meanwhile, Soufiane is reassuring another potential “buyer” that the man he is looking for will pass by later for sure. While he is saying that, he looks at me of the corner of his eye, as to verify how much of the conversation I actually guessed. I feel as back in the early days of the street education project I used to work in, when one youngster said to me one day: “You remind me of a prison guard at the juvenile detention centre, are you sure it's not you?” [...] a couple of hours later, after we finished our usual training session Ricardo, Marcos, Celestin and me are chatting on the low walls of the park, catching the breath after an intensive afternoon and enjoying the fresh sunset breeze. Lazer, Azzedine and Soufiane show up by the walls, and Lazer, who still I haven't met since I'm back, starts to fake kicks and loops while uttering with a smile “I'm still good!”. We haven't seen each other for almost 3 years and he enthusiastically hugs me, welcoming me “back home”. Lazer tells me his younger brother came to call him after work saying I was around, and he came straight away. He is now employed as an apprentice for a plumber and very happy of that, but he rushes to say also he keeps his skills up to date training with the guys when he can. The chat goes dense with stories, gossips and jokes until dark, and when we leave, after having hugged Lazer and the guys, Soufiane comes to shake my hand. “See you around with the guys”, he says...

Still trying to get in touch and process all the feelings and state of minds I lived this afternoon. I felt out of place, looked upon suspiciously, worried, but also pleased to move (finally) under the sun, to sweat, to perceive in the young men I

spent the day with a similar pleasure in working our bodies, being with others, and checking our limits. The first part of the afternoon reminded me how “stranger” a white, educated, Italian man in his 30s can be around the groups of youth I aim to work with. Possibly, I also got a taste of how “strangers” these youth feel outside their own groups and around the city. Soufiane has been the litmus paper in this, highlighting how I have to remember at every minute in field that the eyes of who I meet might see something different in my age, status, ethnicity, class, than what I think. Soufiane reminded me how I can easily be seen as a somehow threatening, or at least intrusive figure for the young men I daily meet in the field, as much as it happened in the past when I started working on the street education project (when I was provocatively associated to a juvenile detention centre guard). Now, though, my unsubstantial affiliation to an English university can be both a source of relief (“he is not an operator checking on what we do for some office, or maybe the court, or police”), or further suspect (“he’s not telling it all”). Soufiane’s eyes checked with attention and ill-concealed suspect what I said and what I saw in the first part of the afternoon, and I realised how he perceived me as a barely tolerated intruder in his life and daily routine, possibly judging his interactions with both young capoeiras/ traceur and drug dealers/buyers alike. He might have been bothered by an adult judging his way of navigating the social interactions of the park, and possibly making wrong conclusions, or maybe also by having an adult noticing his quite accurate knowledge of local illegal activities and characters in the area. In any case, the more I ask “odd” questions at wrong timing, or with people who do not know me much, the more I distance myself from the young men I meet, and I can possibly hinder any chance of these young men of knowing me, and possibly trust me to an extent. This is not about me getting the information I think interesting when I want, but to be present with them, understand things with time (or not), and let the young men I meet know me, and possibly be the one asking me questions if necessary. The question on the harraga was a plain example, I wanted to check if I understood well, but Azzedine was speaking Moroccan with Soufiane, thus clearly with no intention to be understood by me. My question possibly reinforced an image of invasive curiosity that was possibly only moderated by the fact that Azzedine knew me and somehow “guaranteed” for me at the eyes of

Soufiane. This was possibly clearer when Lazer entered the scene hours later and warmly welcomed me back “at home”. I was actually deeply moved by his bright enthusiasm and warmth, and to know he is well, and doing okay. As I think about it again, our greeting had meaning beyond the two of us. As a respected figure amongst the peers and younger people in the area, Lazer's warm welcome likely offered me a beginning of recognition and acceptance not at all guaranteed or easy to achieve, especially if I am not aware of how my body, and my actions speaks to others in the field. Soufiane's handshake when we greet might be a consequence of Lazer's hug.

APPENDIX TWO: Participants' brief profiles (in order of appearance in the text)

Marcos: Marcos was born in Lima (Peru) 21 years ago. Having as mother tongue(s) Spanish and Italian, Marcos is also fluent in English, which he learnt listening to music and watching English speaking movies with subtitles. Despite his thirst for knowing other languages and cultures, he has never been outside Italy (despite occasional returns to Peru), and hardly had the chance to see any place outside Turin. He currently keeps doing casual jobs, together with a 1 day per week work as trainer in a youth project in Turin, and he is attending a weekend professional course in graphics and web-design. In March 2016 he applied for Italian citizenship, and he is currently waiting for a response to his application.

Dragan: Born in Albania, 19 years old Dragan came to Italy aged 12 with his parents, with whom he is currently living. This year he is finishing a Technical School as Electrician, a choice motivated by his parents' certainty that the diploma would help him finding a job. He is currently living in Italy with a permit to stay for study.

Alex: 20 years old Alex was born in Romania and came to Italy four years ago,

aged sixteen, to work. In the past years he worked as a cleaner in a 5am-2pm shift that enabled him to punctually train every afternoon most days of the week. He is now also occasionally working as a bar-tender in a Romanian disco-club.

Ciprian: 16 years old Ciprian was born in Romania, but came to Italy aged 5. Having been diagnosed with dyslexia at 13, his parents opted to enrol him in a brief professional course as decorator. He has been an avid capoeira and traceur for 4 years at the time of this study.

Wendell: Born in Dominican Republic, 18 years old Wendell came to Italy aged 3 with his parents and older brother. In Italy was born also is younger sister. Despite periodically travelling to Dominican Republic with his family and his Spanish mother tongue, Wendell considers himself a tourist when he visits his country of origin. He is currently studying at a graphics and web-design Technical School. In Italy, he is holder of a *carta di soggiorno*, a semi-permanent permit of stay, that is usually the premise to apply for citizenship.

Hugo: 18 years old Hugo was born in Venezuela, and arrived in Italy with his mother at the age of 8. Hugo is attending the last year of a Technical School in Tourism services and Cooking. He is currently living in Italy with a study permit to stay.

Karim: Another key character in this study, 21 years old Karim was born in Morocco, but came to Italy aged 4. He is one of the few participants being born outside the European Union to have Italian citizenship. Karim is currently working as a delivery (bicycle) driver to earn some money that will enable him to move to another European country. UK and Germany (where his sister lives) are the most probable destinations.

Carlos: Born in Brazil, 20 years old Carlos came to Italy aged 12. After finishing

school he has been working for 4 years as a cleaner, but recently he developed a keen interest in moving to other countries and learning new languages (i.e. English). He is currently living in Italy with a work permit of stay.

Samba: 20 years old Samba was born in Senegal, but came to Italy with his parents aged 5. He speaks Wolof, French, and Italian, and would love to deepen his knowledge of Brazilian Portuguese by travelling to Brazil as soon as he can. He has been working as a bar-tender for the last year. Samba lives in Italy with a *carta di soggiorno* (see also Wendell).

Reda: 19 years old Reda was born in Morocco, but came to Italy with his parents when he was 7. He is currently studying to get a diploma as in industrial production and maintenance at a Technical School. Reda lives in Italy with a *carta di soggiorno*.

Leonardo: one of the two ethnically Italian participants of this study, 20 years old Leonardo is studying graphics and photography at a Technical School in Turin.

Abdelrazak: 19 years old Abdelrazak was born in Morocco and came to Italy at the age of 8 with his parents. Unemployed after he finished school last year, he usually organizes a stall of used machineries/electrics at the Saturday's flea market in the district of Porta Palazzo, sometimes joined by Hicham and Karim. Abdelrazak lives in Italy with a *carta di soggiorno*.

Ricardo: Ricardo came to Italy at the age of 12 from Brazil with his mother. Now, at the age of 20, he proudly claims his Brazilian nationality, but also states he sees himself living the rest of his life in Italy. After he finished school he has been working as a cleaner and a carpenter. Ricardo lives in Italy with a work permit of stay.

Escrim: 21 years old Escrim arrived in Italy at the age of 16 from Brazil to join his uncle's family. He openly states that he learnt speaking Italian training capoeira and parkour with Samba and few other friends. He is currently working as a mechanic apprentice in Turin. Escrim lives in Italy with a work permit of stay.

Cosmin: 21 years old Cosmin has been living in Italy with his mother and sister since the age of 12. Apart from Italian, and Romanian, his mother tongue, he is fluent in English, language he learnt through an array of internet tutorials, readings and English movies with subtitles. He is currently working as an apprentice in a typography.

Joseph: 20 years old Joseph came to Italy from Nigeria with his parents when he was 4. He finished studying graphic and web design at a Technical School last year and since then he has been working in various places in Turin as a bar-tender. He says that his knowledge of English helped him to find jobs in bars in the city's touristic areas. Joseph lives in Italy with a *carta di soggiorno* and he is planning to apply for Italian citizenship next year with his parents.

Lazer: 21 years old Lazer came to Italy from Morocco with his parents and his younger brother (Azzedine) at the age of 12. After finishing a Technical School 3 years ago, he has been working since then as an apprentice plumber. He holds a *carta di soggiorno*.

Razvan: 21 years old Razvan came to Italy from Romania with his parents at the age of 12. After getting a diploma in cooking and food service at the age of 16, he is one of the few participants with a permanent job as a cook in a bar. He recently moved in a flat with his girlfriend, who is also from Romania.

Loris: 21 years old Matteo is the second ethnic Italian participant of the study. A Marcos and Karim's schoolmate, he is finishing next year a diploma in electronics

in a Technical School.

Martin: 17 years old Martin came to Italy from Ecuador at the age of 15 to join his mother. He is currently attending a Technical School in graphics and web design. Martin is in Italy with a study and family reunification permit to stay.

Bogdan: 18 years old Bogdan joined his parents from Moldova at the age of 8. He is currently at the last year of his diploma as professional electrician in a Technical School. Next year Bogdan's permit of stay for study will expire. Bogdan says he would like to study Linguistics at the University, but he says his parents will be pushing him to find a job as soon as he can after the diploma.

Lucio: 18 years old Lucio came to Italy from Brazil with his parents at the age of 12. Since he ended his diploma in tourist service and food serving, Lucio has been working casually in bars and restaurants in Turin. He is holder of a *carta di soggiorno*.

Erik: 19 years old Erik came to Italy with his parents from the Dominican Republic at the age of 7. He works occasionally in construction sites and movings. He is holder of a *carta di soggiorno*.

Hicham: 20 years old Hicham joined his mother from Morocco at the age of 16. He is not currently attending any school and does occasional cash-in-hand jobs to make a living. He is in the process of changing his family reunification permit of stay into a provisional, 6 months permit to stay enabling him to look for a job.

Celestin: 20 years old Celestin came with his mother from Romania to Italy at the age of 13. H is currently finishing the last year of a Technical School in electronics. Although he would like to keep on studying at the university, he says most likely he will have to find a job first to help at home.

Azzedine: 16 years old Lazer's younger brother Azzedine came to Italy with his brother and parents at the age of 7. He is currently finishing to study for a diploma in tourist services and playing in a local football team. As Lazer, he is holder of a *carta di soggiorno*.

Soufiane: 16 years old Soufiane joined his mother in Italy at the age of 11. He moved to Belgium with his mother few months after this study started.

APPENDIX THREE: University of Bath, Department of Education, MPhil OR PHD PROGRAMME: ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PROPOSED RESEARCH

**To be completed by the student and supervisor(s) and approved by the Director of Studies
before any data collection takes place**

Introduction

1. Name(s) of researcher(s)

Nicola De Martini Ugolotti

2. Provisional title of your research

Climbing Walls, Making Bridges: Capoeira, Parkour and the Identity Journeys of Children of Immigrants in Turin

3. Justification of Research

The proposed research aims to explore how the physical and spatial practices of capoeira and parkour relate in the process of identity construction amongst groups of children of immigrants between 12 and 20 in Turin. Furthermore this project aims to consider the significance of these practices in understanding processes of exclusion and inclusion for migrant youth. Finally this study aims to unpack, through a set of qualitative methods, the complex interplay of historical, social, political and economic elements which shape, constitute, and are contested in children of immigrants daily lives in early 21st century Turin.

Consent

4. Who are the main participants in your research (interviewees, respondents, raconteurs and so forth)?

Respondents

5. How will you find and contact these participants?

I know already some of the participants from a previous period of research conducted in 2011 for

my MSc, and they have agreed to participate to the study. Some of the other participants will be contacted through them, while others will be contacted during the ethnographic participation in capoeira and parkour in the field amongst those practicing those disciplines.

6. How will you obtain consent? From whom?

I will ask consent to participants first orally, then by signing a form. When respondents are underage, I will ask to meet the parents/tutor and discuss with them the participation to the study and to sign the participation consent form.

Deception

7. How will you present the purpose of your research? Do you foresee any problems including presenting yourself as the researcher?

I will present myself as a researcher, as I did for my previous research on similar topics. I do not foresee specific problems as indeed in my previous experience several participants showed interest and appreciation in knowing that a researcher would know more about their lives and daily challenges. I understand making clear the purpose of the research will enable participants to decide whether they want or are interested in participating in such project.

8. In what ways might your research cause harm (physical or psychological distress or discomfort) to yourself or others? What will you do to minimise this?

I assume that in interviews/focus groups, addressing some topics and issues may cause distress to participants. If I encounter such situations I will make sure to do not leave any participants at the end of our meetings in a condition of distress by staying with them and offering to call any help/support needed. To avoid these situations I intend to make clear before any interview/focus group that participants can ask not to address specific issues with the researchers at any point of our meetings.

I will not in any way ask/push/engage participants to put themselves in danger or enact illegal acts within fieldwork and in the practice of capoeira/parkour.

Confidentiality

9. What measures are in place to safeguard the identity of participants and locations?

Name and details of participants' personal histories will be changed to preserve the identity of participants and locations. The use of visual images (photos, videos) for academic or public purposes will be subjected to prior acknowledgment and approval of the participants who shoot the images/videos and were portrayed in them. In case of underage participants the approval will be requested to parents/tutors.

Accuracy

10. How will you record information faithfully and accurately?

During my participation in capoeira and parkour practices I will not take notes, but write down observations and reflections on a researcher's diary at the end of the day. I will note down meaningful expressions/comments by participants on my mobile, as if writing a brief text, whenever such meaningful ethnographic moments occur. Nevertheless from time to time I will bring along a portable audio recorder and video cameras, and ask participants to record voluntarily comments, reflections, insights regarding the practices and the places where they are enacted. I will also use the recorder and camera to ask participants to interview each others about the same topics. I will also use a recorder and camera for the interviews and focus groups conducted with participants/key informants whenever they agree with that.

11. At what stages of your research, and in what ways will participants be involved?

The participants will be involved from the very early stages of research through my direct participation in capoeira and parkour trainings.

12. Have you considered how to share your findings with participants and how to thank them for their participation?

I have thought of various means to share and discuss the research findings and to involve them in the research conduction and dissemination. As to what means will be used, it will depends on participants' choices. I assume that the youngsters who will decide to participate to the study will do it for personal interest, as some participants in a previous study told me they appreciated the fact somebody asked about the challenges they had to face since their arrival in Italy. Furthermore as participants showed me interest and curiosity about working together with visual images to portray and promote their experiences with capoeira and parkour I see this as an opportunity to engage with them on a common project possibly enabling to develop further, or discover, specific skills, interests, socializing contexts. I intend therefore to set up with three professionals in photo-shooting, video recording and editing, who agreed to voluntarily contribute to the research, some workshops where the videos, photos of participants will be discussed, organized and edited to possibly create a short video-documentary or a photo exposition about participants practices and lives in Turin.

Additional Information

13. Have you approached any other body or organisation for permission to conduct this research?

No

14. Who will supervise this research?

University of Bath, Dr. Michael Silk and Dr. Ceri Brown

15. Any other relevant information.

Student:	Signature:
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Nicola De Martini Ugolotti	Date: 15/01/2014
Supervising Member(s) of Staff:	Signature(s):
	Date:
Director of Studies	Signature:
	Date:

A copy of this form to be placed in [1] the student file, and [2] an Ethics Approval File held by the Director of Studies. The Director of Studies will report annually to the Department's Research Students Committee (white paper business) on ethical issues of particular interest that have been raised during the year.

APPENDIX FOUR: Example of analysis process (from Karim's interview transcription).

The transcribed interview is in Italian, but the relevant coded parts of the texts have been translated in English by the author to facilitate the understanding of the coding procedure. The coded extracts are in italics. Coded themes were grouped and compared with codes from other interviews/focus groups in order to generate insights about issues raised by the participants. This process of coding and identifying key themes in the participants' words and stories informed also the formulation of further interviews, focus groups and ethnographic discussions.

INTERVIEW

N.: Interviewer

K.: Karim

N.: Inizierei chiedendoti di presentarti, come se ti dovessi presentare a qualcuno che non ti conosce, come in effetti sarà per chi guarderà il video...

K.: Ok... Mi chiamo Abdelkarim, tutti quanti, oppure chi mi conosce mi chiama Karim, sono venuto in Italia all'età di 5 anni (adesso dovrebbe averne 20 ndr), teoricamente dovevo venire un anno prima, solo che hanno sbagliato nei documenti e sono rimasto un anno da solo in Marocco, poi a cinque anni sono venuto, ho fatto

l'asilo, le elementari, le medie, dalle medie ho incominciato a praticare attività sportiva, ho cominciato a fare, il primo sport è stato il nuoto, però non mi è mia piaciuto, *poi da consiglio dei miei ho fatto calcio, solo che anche lì non mi sentivo a mio agio anche perchè mi sentivo molto sottovalutato e poi ho incominciato a fare basket, solo che anche lì la squadra sembrava non accettarmi e cose del genere (E) (1'47")* allora ho smesso per un periodo di fare attività, circa due annetti, dopodichè mentre conoscevo loro ho incominciato a fare parkour all'età di 15-16 anni... *Prima non sapevo che cos'era, quando ho detto a loro di fare parkour non sapevo che cos'era (sorride, 2'12") perchè pochi giorni prima avevo visto un video su internet di un tipo che saltava e forse non faceva nemmeno parkour, a me in testa è passato che quello stava facendo parkour, allora ho detto "Hey ragazzi facciamo parkour", poi piano piano abbiamo cominciato a capire che cos'era e solo (si schiarisce la voce) col passare del tempo ci siamo resi conto di cosa produceva in noi, o almeno cosa produceva in me questa attività, questa disciplina (A),* che non ti va mai a spingere, a farti fare qualcosa che tu non vuoi, ma anzi ti... ti rendi conto che se qualcosa è troppo difficile per te automaticamente ti fermi e dici "no, questo non posso farlo" o almeno chi pratica davvero la disciplina dice così, poi ci sono molti, c'è da sottolineare che ci sono molti che praticano, ma non rendono l'idea giusta di quello che è il parkour (3'08") perchè saltano tu li guardi, dici, "quello fa parkour", ma in realtà non lo fa, perchè probabilmente, oppure io con il nostro gruppo girando a volte guardavamo altri ragazzi allenarsi che venivano, si sedevano, poi incominciavano a saltare senza neanche una fase di riscaldamento, senza prepararsi fisicamente, cos a che nel parkour non puoi assolutamente fare e poi oltre a rovinare te stesso rovini anche la figura del parkour, perchè la gente guarda uno saltare che poi si rompe un legamento, si rompe un ginocchio, si schaccia un piede e dice "ma questo è parkour?! Io questo a mio figlio non glielo faccio fare!" e quindi si va a dare anche un connotato negativo alla disciplina, difatti penso che la cosa peggiore di questa disciplina è l'immagine negativa che la gente ne ha, perchè nei telegiornali si sente "ragazzo morto per colpa del parkour", ma magari non faceva nemmeno parkour, magari era come quei ragazzi di cui ho parlato prima che saltava così, solo perchè i suoi amici saltavano, quindi per farsi figo davanti alle ragazze allora "salta!", però non è quello il parkour, *il parkour è molto altro, è davvero tantissimo, una cosa che impari solo dopo tantissimi anni di allenamento, nemmeno io posso dire che cos'è esattamente, perchè non si può dire, però... (si blocca per qualche secondo) (4'42") aiuta molto perchè ti fa davvero dare una certa importanza a te stesso (4'52"), prima magari ti credevi una nullità (B),* perchè negli altri sport solo perchè la squadra vinceva però tu non avevi segnato durante la partita ti sentivi davvero niente, nel parkour no, non succede mai che ti senti niente, magari ti senti un po' insoddisfatto saltando perchè ti graffi, dici "perchè quel salto non mi è venuto oggi?", ma dopo un mese, se sei uno che davvero salta e si impegna ti rendi conto che il mese prima hai detto una cavolata a farti insoddisfare di quella cosa lì e... e... (sorride)

N.: Benissimo, come inizio va benissimo (5'37")... mi chiedevo se potevi raccontarci un po' di più di come hai conosciuto marcos e loris in generale e di come siete arrivati poi a fare parkour... (6'29")

K.: Quando è stato il primo giorno di scuola di 6 anni fa, la prima superiore, che ci siamo incontrati nella stessa classe per puro caso, perchè io in quella scuola neppure ci dovevo andare, perchè pochi giorni prima, l'iscrizione non l'avevo fatta a scuola, ho scelto una scuola a caso e quella scuola lì ho beccato, mi sono ritrovato in quella classe lì con loro due (Marcos e Loris) (C) che, boh, i primi giorni non socializzavamo per niente, anzi io ero in fondo che venivo dalle medie ed ero un casinista alle medie, quindi mi sono messo in fondo nella classe, loro due invece erano poco più avanti, quindi per il primo periodo ho fatto solo il casinista, rimanevo con i casinisti della classe, ero sempre quello che si prendeva più note, loro di meno, anzi mai penso e poi dopo il primo annetto che è passato un po' così abbiamo incominciato a legare molto anche perchè i più casinisti sono stati bocciati e ci siamo trovati sempre più vicini... è successo che ci trovavamo più vicini cominciamo a frequentarci a uscire, non ci allenavamo ancora, qualche volta ci incontravamo andavamo a mangiare un apizza, facevamo un giro in bici, giri normali, dopodichè dals econdo anno in poi, l'estate del secondo anno, volevamo qualcosa da fare e poi lì è nata l'idea di cominciare ad allenarci...

Madonna Loris sempre zitto per le sue, il primo giorno di scuola era lì con gli occhialini (fa il gesto di chi siede molto raccolto) sembrava in un *confessionario* (secretoso...), tutto zitto... per il primo periodo era stato così... *Si forse anche perchè venivamo da mondi molto diversi, sia come origini culturali, religiose, Loris con i genitroi meridionali, poi Marocco, Romania, Però, forse tre mondi diversi che praticamente si sono uniti e quindi le prime volte c'erano delle divergenze che andavano a sfociare in discussioni che ci portavano a tenere il broncio per un po' di tempo e un po', non so a farci... ci punzecchiavamo l'uno con l'altro nel primo periodo, questo anche nel primo periodo in cui abbiamo cominciato a fare capoeira e parkour è stato così (D)*, perchè mi ricordo che magari non sapevamo ancora cos'è il parkour quindi noi vedevamo i video e cercavamo di imitare, all'inizio era così, ora non più, all'inizio era così, non sapevamp, non c'era un istruttore volevamo fare tutto da soli, guardavamo i video e cercavamo di imitare e secondo me quel fatto di imitare i video ci ha portasto ancora di più a bisticciare tra di noi, perchè noi guardavamo un video, io a casa mia guardavo un video, lui a casa sua un video, io quando andavo al parco con loro ad allenarmi pensavo “mò devo fare ciò che ho visto ne video”, lui pensava, io la penso così poi non so come la pensa lui, lui pensava “mò devo fare ciò che ho visto ne video” e poi ci trovavamo che io gli dicevo “Ma salta così!” e lui “Ma no! Devo saltare così!” e Loris “Ma no! Io salto così!” (ridono) e quindi ci trovavamo incasinati a bisticciare, poi ognuno a saltare per conto suo in tre lati diversi del parco, il primo periodo era così, poi piano piano, quando ci siamo resi conto che...

N.: Parkour è saltare da almeno tre metri...

K.: No, infatti all'inizio ti viene quella roba lì in testa e molti per tutto il corso del loro alenaento che può durare da i 2,3 ai 4 anni se non di più, c'è gente che continua così dal primo giorno all'ultimo, ripetendo sempre il fatto che per lui il parkour è saltare facendo saltoni grossi senza un pre-allenamento dietro, un riscaldamento, una cosa mentale, *perchè il parkour è soprattutto una cosa mentale e purtroppo c'è gente che la pensa così e cos' rovina, rovina quello chela gente pensa del parkour*

(B) anche perchè se io non faccio parkour e guardo delle persone saltare mi viene subito da prendere di mira (come esempio) dico “guarda come mi faccio figo se faccio quelle grossate, madonna come me la tiro” e invece se vedo quelli là che fanno gli esercizi di riscaldamento dico “ma quelli sembrano dei vecchietti, cosa li seguo a fare”, all'inizio a me verrebbe da pensare così ed è assolutamente un'idea sbagliata perchè poi quel gruppone lì che si allena che fa le cose azzardate poi va a prendere ancora più gente, quindi diventa una cosa ancora più brutta però è difficile perchè il ragazzo se incomincia non inizia tanto per allenarsi loro stessi, non perchè non sono accettati in una scuola di calcio, non perchè a basket loro non erano bravi, magari erano bravi in tutte le discipline ma vedono quelli là che si fanno fighi allora dicono anch'io la faccio, *invece la maggior parte delle persone che si allenano qui lo fanno perchè era isolato, si sentiva isolato, non socialmente, ma magari si sentiva isolato in famiglia* (B1) magari qua magari là, quindi piano piano... quello intendo dire...

N.: Prima tu dicevi che il parkour è una cosa mentale...

K.: Nel senso che quando salti, quando ti alleni, ogni cosa arrivi a pensarci prima moltissimo, quando prepari un salto che possa essere di passi, 10, 11, anche da fermo da un muretto all'altro, t prima ci pensi davvero tanto, senza stare a contare i passi, però ti metti sul muretto lì e guardi, dici in testa tua “è lungo così, per farlo devo saltare così”, tutte cose che non ti ha insegnato nessuno, ma che ha imparato da solo, perchè tu non sei partito con 10 passi, ma con 3 passi, 4 passi, muretti così proprio, di distanza così e quindi piano piano capisci come... è quindi *è una cosa mentale perchè piano piano vai ad allenare la tua testa a capire a come reagire in ogni situazione*, perchè poi quei 10 passi un giorno saranno 13-14 che sono lunghini e per farli, magari devi farli con una rincorsa per farli quella cosa lì devi averla già in testa già studiata, che arrivi salti, devi avere una buona tecnica per saltare, atterrare, tutto nel miglior modo senza farti male. Invece se arrivi e già nei primi giorni vuoi cimentarti in cose grosse, vuoi saltare e basta, va bene, magari la prima volta quello di tredici ci azzecca, atterri, la seconda volta anche, la terza anche, però non avrai mai quella cosa lì in testa che ti spiega davvero come fai a fare il salto, quindi arriverà sicuramente il giorno in cui ti spezzi qualcosa, questo... e non solo in questo ambito qui è una cosa mentale, *ti aiuta molto anche perchè quando pratichi la disciplina ti rendi conto che, se prima camminavi in un posto, in un parco, una strada, ti rendi conto che, non so, a me è successo così, ora ogni volta che cammino, anche adesso che sono da 10 mesi fermo per la caviglia, succede che se vedo una determinata combinazione di palo/muretto/sbarra penso “cacchio ora se non mi faceva male il piede facevo quella cosa lì”, se vedo quei due muretti piazzati in quel modo dico, cavolo, avrei fatto quella cosa lì con quei muretti e l'altra cosa mentale è che moltissime cose io ho smesso di avere paura, prima anche con le persone mi relazionavo in modo diverso, avevo molto paura di relazionarmi prima di iniziare ad allenarmi e invece con capoeira e parkour, non perchè ho conosciuto gente, ma per il fatto che ti devi per forza dare autostima, quindi tu per forza devi motivare te stesso a fare qualcosa, anche se le prime volte provi, cadi, ti apri gli stinchi, (B) tantissime volte mi è capitato, quante volte sono arrivato a casa depressissimo, tutte le ginocchia aperte, gli stinchi aperti, però se*

non motivi te stesso, poi non riesci più a continuare e ti deprimi talmente tanto che poi... infatti sta cosa ogni volta di prendere una botta, stare fermo 3-4 giorni e poi motivare te stesso riprovare quel salto è una cosa magari impensabile che tu magari correndo sbatti un ginocchio forte che ti si gonfia come un non so cosa, poi dici “basta”, uno direbbe basta, invece tu riesci pure a motivarti, se davvero hai seguito la tua via, quella di cui ti parlavamo prima, riesci a motivarti e a dire “se mi alleno con giudizio poi quel salto la prossima volta riesco a farlo” non dico “no, anche se mi alleno non riesco a farlo”, ma dici “se mi alleno riesco a farlo” tra un mese, due, tre, riuscirò a farlo però, non dici mai “quel salto non riuscirò a farlo” non le dici mai queste cose... (24'10")

N.: è una cosa che puoi fare mentre vai a fare la spesa, a scuola, in un qualsiasi momento della giornata

K.: *è capitato moltissime volte che così camminando per la strada normale, in jeans, vedi un muretto e provi un salto, è così, ti riscaldi un po' e poi provi... (B1)* però quello che voglio dire è che detto così il parkour sembra solo che tu vedi quei muretti lì e salti, magari sembra che ci debbano essere dei muretti messi lì apposta per saltare, e invece no, può anche... cioè, on so come speigare, però non è che solo se trovo barra, palo, muro per saltare...

N.: Mi sembra di capire ce è come se aveste imparato a leggere gli spazi in maniera diversa con il parkour...

K.: esatto, *la prima cosa che noti quando vai in uno spazio mai visto sono i muri, le sbarre, lo spazio in cui puoi correre, l'altezza e la larghezza dei muri e delle sbarre (B1)* e seconda di tutti questi elementi e a seconda della sua bravura, incominci a saltarci sopra, per esempio accade che andiamo in un parco nuovo e notiamo tanti muri, tante sbarre, tanti pali, però magari non tutti i muri, non tutte le sbarre, non tutti i pali possiamo saltare, perchè il nostro allenamento, non siamo a quel punto che possiamo fare quei salti giganti... e quindi in base agli elementi che ci sono provi quello che vuoi, provi dei salti, provi delle fluidità che sarebbero muoverti da un muretto all'altro, da una barra all'altra, e quindi puoi anche andare in un posto che non hai mai visto e comunque riesci sempre a riconoscerlo in base a questi principi (B1)

N.: e che cosa hai trovato nel parkour che...

K.: (10'24") *Ma all'inizio il parkour non mi dava quello che mi da adesso, io mi allenavo e giorno giorno mi piaceva di più perchè quello che facevo lo facevo per me, non ero giudicato da nessuno, non mi guardava nessuno, non avevo la tensione, oddio sabato c'è la partita (E)*, ci allenavamo al massimo chi mi doveva giudicare erano lui (M.) e L., perchè all'inizio noi tre abbiamo cominciato e pensa che non sapevamo neanche che c'erano altri ragazzi che facevano parkour a Torino, infatti eravamo andati in un parco conosciutissimo a Torino tra chi fa parkour, la spina in via Stradella ed eravamo in un punto 100 metri prima di dove si ritrovano tutti i praticanti praticamente e noi siamo andati 100m prima e 100m

dopo non sapevamo che c'erano tutti i ragazzi che praticavano e per mesi ci siamo allenati in un buco lì, tra due muretti e dopo tre mesi passa suo cugino (di M.) che girava sempre in quella zona lì e ci dice “sapete che di là si allenano?” e noi ma come? Ma chi? Non sapevamo niente! E poi prendiamo, andiamo e un mondo si apre, vediamo gente che salta, più bravi, dicevamo, ma questi sono i ragazzi dei video, perchè noi i primi giorni che incominciavamo scrivevamo parkour torino proprio così e vedevamo i ragazzi saltare, allora riconoscevamo alcuni volti che vedevamo su youtube a dicevamo, allora è così, non sono persone nascoste che si allenano sottoterra, si allenano davvero (12'29")

N.: mentre M. mi ha detto che hai fatto anche capoeira per un po'...

K.: *dopo un anno di parkour ho iniziato capoeira, mentre facevo parkour e mi ha aiutato molto perchè mi ha fatto sviluppare parecchi movimenti che non avrei imparato solo con il parkour, perchè all'inizio dopo un anno pensavo che il parkour fosse solo saltare, saltare, saltare, invece in capoeira e parkour devi usare tutto il tuo corpo per fare tutti i movimenti possibili, (F) infatti puoi mischiarci anche la capoeira, l'acrobatica, infatti ho iniziato anche a fare acrobatica, puoi metterci dentro di tutto*

N.: Però secondo te come mai per un ragazzo vedere un altro che salta può far venire in mente voglio parlo anch'io e per una ragazza invece non ci penso per niente? Secondo te è legata ad una diversità naturale o il fatto che noi maschi siamo più “autorizzati” a muoverci e scalarmarci negli spazi pubblici, mentre le donne hanno altre prerogative?

K.: Autorizzati forse solo dal fatto da come siamo messi nella posizione sociale, nel senso che *in altri paesi, ti sto parlando di Russia, Ucraina, Polonia, ci sono tantissime ragazze che vedi saltare, si sbucciano le ginocchia, semplice, per loro non c'è nessun problema, però questo perchè forse perchè in quei paesi se vedi una ragazza che si allena per strada che fa work out alle sbarre per fare bicipiti, tricipiti tu ragazzo che passi di lì, anche se vuoi rimorchiare, ma neanche ti avvicini, ma non perchè hai paura che lei ti dà un pugno, ma perchè lei è lì che si sta allenando, stop! Mentre qui se vedi una ragazza che si allena alle sbarre ti dici, madonna che sexy, ti avvicini e le rompi i c., quindi la ragazza non si sente neanche a suo agio ad allenarsi in un posto pubblico di tarda sera magari o di prima mattina, dice no, non ci penso nemmeno, arriva il ragazzo di turno che mi rompe ogni due secondi (G) (22'12")*

N.: Quindi è come se fosse legata alla libertà di movimento che hanno le ragazze...

K.: sissì, non perchè secondo me un ragazzo può spingere di più di una ragazza o viceversa

N.: Questo secondo me è molto importante rispetto ai temi di cui abbiamo parlato, perchè io condivido molte delle esperienze che avete descritto riguardo al parkour con la capoeira, però è anche vero che queste limitazioni fanno sì che queste

esperienze emancipatorie non siano per tutti apparentemente... come giustamente osservavi noi maschi, purtroppo o per fortuna, possiamo metterci in uno spazio pubblico ad allenarci, magari ci manderanno via perchè dicono che non possiamo stare lì o qualche “bullo” deve far vedere chi comanda...

K.: ma infatti se ti posso dire, ogni volta che ci mettiamo ad allenarci c'è sempre qualcuno che rompa, che sia il maschio che se ne sta al balcone che ti dice ma vai a lavorare cosa perdi tempo a fare queste cavolate e anche molti ragazzi della nostra età che non lo so magari si sentono... quando noi ci mettiamo a saltare spesso lì vicino ci sono altri gruppi di ragazzi che stanno seduti sulle panchine a parlare e via dicendo e spesso ci rompono, ci dicono ma perchè saltate? Questo qua è il nostro posto, qua non dovete, questo e quell'altro, quindi anche se sei un ragazzo c'è lo stesso questa cosa qua che ti rompono, e perchè lo dicono secondo me e perchè la hanno le ragazze e visto che le ragazze magari guardano cosa facciamo, questi così si ingelosiscono, vogliono farsi i finti spessi e quindi vengono a romperci, quindi puoi essere ragazzo o ragazza, comunque ti rompono, è accaduta una volta che eravamo al lingotto e lì è arrivato un gruppo di circa 40-50 persone e noi eravamo in 6-7 con 3 ragazze, sono venuti e hanno attaccato proprio rissa con noi, hanno preso uno e lo hanno picchiato, poi volevano attaccarsi anche con le ragazze, allora noi abbiamo preso e abbiamo iniziato a correre e loro neanche ci hanno più visto, (H) loro con quei pantaloni fino a qui (indica poco sopra il ginocchio) a vita bassa, cosa vogliono fare (ridono)... vabbè questo solo per farti capire che puoi essere ragazzo o ragazza, ma per diversi motivi comunque ti verranno a toccare (25'15") ed i diversi modi cambiano a seconda anche di come vieni visto in un posto piuttosto che in un altro o in uno Stato piuttosto che in un altro, tipo Italia... perchè magari in ogni posto si sviluppa un modo di pensare diverso, che magari come ti dicevo prima in Ucraina, Polonia, Russia se dei ragazzi vedono una ragazza per strada che si allena non andranno mai a romperla o a rompere i ragazzi che si allenano, boh si stanno allenando, come tu sei seduto lì sulla panchina, lui si sta allenando, normale, qui invece no, o nella maggior parte dei casi almeno no(26'04") fine 0009

K.: Invece i ragazzi qua sembra che si sentano messi in causa, pensano che noi ci mettiamo lì a saltare davanti a loro per prenderli in giro che poi non è così

N.: come se il modo in cui voi usate lo spazio...

K.: sì perchè dicono chi è che salta sulle panchine?! Se salti sulle panchine è perchè ci stai sfidando...

N.: come se fosse una sfida a come ci si dovrebbe comportare...

K.: in quello spazio! Sì!

N.: e a chi si sente in “comando” di quegli spazi lì, come a volte fanno i gruppi di ragazzi... Avete mai avuto problemi con figure più “ufficiali” e riconosciute, la polizia o cose del genere?

K.: (sorride barbino) sssì... una volta che ci hanno fermati, ma lì eravamo entrati in una proprietà privata, abbandonata da moltissimi anni, quindi era in disuso, siamo entrati scavalcando, dopo 30-40 minuti usciamo, in quel momento lì un vecchietto allerta la polizia e ci vengono a fermare, boh, non ci hanno detto niente tranne che è un controllo dei documenti e basta, gli abbiamo detto che facevamo parkour che ci allenavamo, che avevamo un nostro vecchio gruppo su youtube e quindi poi non ci hannod eto niente, le altre volte che ci hanno detto di spostarci, che mi hanno dato fastidio perchè in questa qui abbiamo sbagliato noi, siamo entrati in una proprietà privata, abbiamo sbagliato, ma le altre volte succedeva che i vigili urbani ci fermavano mentre saltavamo in un parco ad esempio e lì ci dava molto fastidio la cosa, perchè vedi i ragazzi che si mettono in piedi sulla panchina, se ne stanno lì in piedi e si mettono a fumare ed io che ci metto i piedi perchè sto facendo un salto mi vieni a dire che non posso mettere i piedi?! Cioè mi dà un po' fastidio, e cid dicono di spostarci, no, non potete saltare qui, no, non potete fare questo, quando il parco è assolutamente pubblico. Un giorno un vigile urbano, non so se te lo ricordi (dicendo a M.) eravamo dietro al parco dora dove c'è il Mac (immagini del video) , i due muretti, macchine che escono e due muretti, è arrivato un vigile che ha detto, qui non potete saltare perchè è proprietà privata, siamo andati a vedere sul sito dell'area per controllare e tutta quell'area lì è pubblica e quindi è come se ci stesse prendendo in giro, solo perchè facciamo una cosa che non tutti fanno, pensava di avere il permesso di prenderci in giro, lì mi dava fastidio, ma quando tu sbagli che entri in una proprietà privata, boh, lì tu hai sbagliato... ma se sei in un parco pubblico e arriva una persona, un vigile, polizia o una perosna normale come te e ti dice che non puoi saltare, allora lì mi dà fastidio (H)

N.: Mi hai speigato come mai secondo te i ragazzi come voi se la prendono con voi quando vi allenate, e invece come mai secondo te le autorità vi vengono a rompere la balle mentre fate parkour, vi siete fatti un'idea? (3'25'')

K.: Secondo me perchè noi andiamo a rovinare l'immagine che la gente dà di quel determinato posto ad esempio noi saltiamo in una discesa che serve per facilitare la salita dei condomini in un palazzo noi saltiamo lì e quei muretti a noi ci fa piacere saltare in quel posto lì, ma magari roviniamo l'immagine del palazzo, che è un palazzo appena costruito, magari lì c'è un negozio strafigo che ha appena aperto e roviniamo l'immagine, il negoziante fa una telefonata e dice guarda che non mi piace che quei ragazzi saltino lì che i clienti poi si allontanano e allora arriva il vigile che ti dice che lì non si può saltare che è pericoloso, secondo me penso che il motivo sia questo, non tanto per paura che ci facciamo male, se no andrebbe d aun giocatore di calcio e gli direbbe attento che ti fai male alla caviglia (H), però più per quel fatto lì secondo me

K.: Da parte dei vigili per fortuna mai, non ho mai provato quella sensazione lì che mi trattassero come straniero, ma da parte del cittadino normale lì sì (anche M. annuisce) lì me ne accorgo

N.: anche mentre fai parkour?

K.: sì sì

N.: e in che modo si esprime questa sensazione sono sguardi, gesti, parole? (8'52")

K.: *Ma perchè senti come ti parlano dietro, senti come ti continuano a guardare, senti come ti mettono in soggezione, senti molte... però te ne accorgi, magari non te lo vanno a dire direttamente però te ne accorgi... (M. annuisce) (9'10"), ma questo nel parkour lo senti così non direttamente, perchè fuori quando sali sugli autobus, lo senti molto esplicito, lo senti in maniera diretta (M. continua ad annuire) un giorno mi è capitato di salire su un autobus, questo solo per fare un esempio, c'era una signora anziana e le ho detto prego, si sieda, la signora ha detto di no, che non voleva sedersi, ma in maniera molto arrogante, poi proprio vicino a me c'era un ragazzo, italiano, io ero proprio vestito male quel giorno, con gli straccioni per fare parkour, boh quel ragazzo lì era italiano, ben vestito e tutto quanto, quel ragazzo ha detto signora si sieda e lei si è seduta. Io mi sono sentito molto... mi sono detto, ma magari puzzavo, mi sono annusato, no, non puzzavo (D)*

... poi un'altra volta siamo andati in un locale di notte (10'32") e non ci hanno fatto... a me non... cioè volevamo entrare io vado lì per chiedere una cosa alla sicurezza e mi fa, tu non puoi entrare, io gli ho detto perchè? Di dove sei scusa (facendo la voce di quello della sicurezza)? Gli ho detto in che senso di dove sono? Lui mi ha detto fammi vedere la carta d'identità per vedere se ero marocchino, o... gli stavo per, quasi quasi... gli ho detto guarda che ora come ora io sono cittadino italiano quindi ho gli stessi diritti di tutti questi che sono qui (in coda ndr), lui mi ha detto, non non puoi entrare, lì mi sono girate, non mi interessava che il tipo fosse grosso o meno, mi stavo per attaccare e loro mi hanno fermato, anche se poi ci avrei rimesso io non mi interessava, ma loro per fortuna mi hanno fermato, però ti senti molto escluso, poi non so, ma una città come torino è fatta oer gente che ha voglia di svegliarsi e andare in centro, andare nei pub, nei locali, discoteche, murazzi, basta, non c'è niente'altro. Per gente che vuole allenarsi (vivere in maniera diversa? Ndr) non c'è niente, per fortuna abbiamo tanti parchi (H/D), ma non è che hai dei prati messi lì solo per te, magari, ci sono negli altri paesi, so che in Francia ci sono parchi pubblici giganti in cui i bambini giocano negli stessi posti, sulle stesse sbarre in cui tu ti alleni tu a fare parkour, cioè bellissimo, non è che tu vai a saltare in un posto fatto per bambini, i bambini saltano in un posto fatto per te e quindi questo fa capire quanto i genitori possano avvicinarsi anche alla tua disciplina, cioè se tut salti in un posto fatto per i bambini i genitori si spaventano, si scandalizzano, se i bambini saltano in un posto tuo, tu rispetti i bambini, i bambini rispettano te, è bello... (12'16")

N.: Mi ricordo che M. ci aveva parlato di questo episodio mentre stavamo parlando appunto rispetto a come l'essere percepiti diversi rispetto all'idea di italiano "tipico" possa influenzare la vostra vita di tutti i giorni e anche il vostro senso di appartenenza o esclusione nel contesto in cui si vive. Magari non ci sono barriere fisiche che vi impediscono di andare in alcuni posti, ma uno sguardo mezze parole o addirittura qualcuno che ti chiede la carta d'identità ti fanno capire che in certi

contesti anche sei andarci sei comunque “sospetto” e non proprio benvenuto...

K.: *Quindi anche se in un foglio può essere scritto che sei cittadino italiano, se non lo dimostri (fa il gesto con la sua mano che mostra la propria immagine), può esserci scritto sui documenti ma se di faccia non lo mostri al tipo che ti sta di fronte, finisce lì (D)*, ad esempio mentre fai un colloquio di lavoro, boh se non gli dimostri che sei italiano, tipo ti dipingi di bianco tutto quanto, nel caso tuo (13'51'')

N.: Quindi tu dici, io ho la cittadinanza italiana, ma la mia faccia è come se annullasse tutti questi documenti...

K.: sì perchè poi non è che se ho la cittadinanza italiana sono solo italiano, no! Sono sempre marocchino però qui come ora devi dimostrare di essere cittadino italiano se non puoi fare niente, devi sempre sottolinearlo sta cosa, e ti dà un po' fastidio sta cosa perchè tu pensi ma io sono anche marocchino non devo sottolineare ogni volta che sono cittadino italiano se voglio fare qualche cosa (14'16'') va bene che devo seguire le vostre regole però sono della mia nazionalità (?) quindi non dovete ogni volta sottolinearmelo, va bene per un documento che devo scrivere che sono cittadino italiano, ma se devo entrare solo in un locale normale non è che mi vieni a chiedere di che nazionalità sei

N.: sì, proprio un atto esplicito di discriminazione...

K.: sì e poi fatto davanti non solo a te, ma davanti a più di cento persone per farti capire la gravità della cosa che lì per fortuna non mi è girato in testa di fare né denuncia né niente, perchè lì era proprio il caso... ma se quello si è preso la briga di fare sta cosa di fronte a più di cento persone, tutte italiane, c'eravamo solo io e lui (Marcos) che... Magari erano amici suoi o entravano sempre, sai come funzionano quelle cose... *comunque se quello si è preso la briga di non farmi entrare solo perchè sono marocchino davanti a tutte quelle persone è perchè lo ha fatto altre volte e se nessuno di quelli che erano lì ha detto niente è perchè lo hanno fatto altre volte e gli stava pure bene! Perchè se vedono un comportamento dalle genere da parte della sicurezza e non fanno niente è perchè come se fosse normale... c'era gente che si è messa pure a ridere (D/I)*

K.: e a lamentarsi per farti capire, a dare ragione al buttafuori (16'22'')

N.: E questo episodio ha influenzato il tuo sentirti a tuo agio quando esci o vai nei locali?

K.: Ma sinceramente io odio, infatti ti dicevo Torino è fatta per chi va in quei posti lì, io sinceramente volevo solo provare, vedere cosa c'è di bello che tutti vanno nei locali il sabato sera, però dall'esperienza che ho avuto... perchè tanto prima non lo facevo mai, è una cosa che proprio odio... *come ti ho detto ci vorrebbe una Torino anche per quel 20% di persone, perchè l'80% c'ha già il posto per loro è pieno di posti dove metterli, invece l'altro 20%... (H/I)*

N.: Sì sembra che Torino ultimamente sia molto concentrata a trasmettere un'immagine di città del divertimento, del turismo, ma all'ombra di questa immagine sembra escludere chi non incarna e si inserisce in questo profilo... (17'41") avrei un'ultima domanda e vi ringrazio già per la vostra pazienza e generosità, tu prima mi dicevi che sei italiano ma ti senti anche marocchino e mi hai fatto venire in mente come M. più volte ci abbia raccontato il suo posizionarsi a cavallo di diversi mondi nel senso che lui non si identifica totalmente con la comunità sudamericana, o peruviana, con le caratteristiche "tipiche" di questa comunità, ma non si sente neanche più di tanto italiano, come se fosse in un terzo posto, a cavallo di diversi mondi che in qualche modo li unisce anche, però non è né uno né l'altro, un po' oltre...

K.: se non te l'avessi sentito dire avrei detto la stessa cosa (sorridente) che riguarda me, quindi avrei detto proprio la stessa cosa, nel senso che *sì, culturalmente sono marocchino, anche in ambito religioso, seguo la mia religione però non mi sento il tipico ragazzo marocchino che fa le cose che farebbe un tipico ragazzo marocchino (tipo cosa?) e non mi sento nemmeno come un ragazzo italiano, anzi non ho nessun amico italiano, l'unico amico italiano è L... quindi sono marocchino e sono anche italiano, sulla carta, ma se per esempio ci fosse una rimpatriata di amici marocchini andrei lì e non saprei esattamente cosa fare e anche se ci fosse una rimpatriata di amici italiani anche lì mi siederei e non saprei cosa fare, non so perchè ma... (I)*

N.: come se fossi oltre a tutti e due questi mondi... prima hai detto che ti senti italiano solo sulla carta, nel senso che hai uno status giuridico che ti facilita alcune pratiche rispetto a qualcuno con la nazionalità marocchina però non ti senti italiano...

K.: (scuotendo la testa) no...

N.:... tutti questi anni in Italia non hanno fatto in modo che tu ti sentissi parte di questo Paese o di questa città...

K.: (sempre scuotendo la testa) no... non mi sono mai sentito, anzi cioè, non è che... *da un momento all'altro potrei anche partire e andare in un altro posto, non c'è niente che mi lega a questo posto qui proprio zero, anche se sono sedici anni che sono qui (I)* se fai questo discorso davanti ad un italiano, specialmente un vecchietto, ti direbbe, allora cosa sei venuto a fare qui, e... non è colpa mia, è il fatto dei miei genitori che sono venuti qui a lavorare, c'è tutto un discorso dietro, però non mi sento affatto legato qui (21'51") e secondo me se la cittadinanza non servisse a fini burocratici, secondo me nessuno straniero la farebbe, cioè verrebbe qui, vivrebbe, seguirebbe le regole, ma non la farebbe nessuno cioè faresti i documenti, tutto in regola, ma non chiedersti la cittadinanza, perchè riconosci sempre in te la vecchia... chi sei davvero (22'21") infatti non ha molto senso la cosa, dire che sei cittadino italiano solo perchè vuoi aiutarti nei documenti, solo perchè vuoi viaggiare in tutta Europa o avere altre cose in maniera più semplice, tutto lì.

N.: E tu fra 5 anni dove ti immagini di essere?

K.: non lo so, ma non in Italia, assolutamente, penso in un paese del Nord Europa, penso... (23'05")

CODING:

A) Beginning/rationale to start training:

≡ *“Prima non sapevo che cos'era, quando ho detto a loro di fare parkour non sapevo che cos'era (sorride) perchè pochi giorni prima avevo visto un video su internet di un tipo che saltava e forse non faceva nemmeno parkour, a me in testa è passato che quello stava facendo parkour, allora ho detto “Hey ragazzi facciamo parkour”, poi piano piano abbiamo cominciato a capire che cos'era e solo (si schiarisce la voce) col passare del tempo ci siamo resi conto di cosa produceva in noi, o almeno cosa produceva in me questa attività, questa disciplina”*

(Before, I didn't know what it was, when I told them let's start training parkour I didn't know what it was... Because few days earlier I watched a video on youtube of a guy who jumped, but I don't even know if he was doing parkour, in my head he was doing parkour, so I said “hey guys, let's do parkour”, then step by step we started to realize what this discipline produced in us...)

B) Effects of training

≡ *“parkour e capoeira sono molto altro, è davvero tantissimo, una cosa che impari solo dopo tantissimi anni di allenamento, nemmeno io posso dire che cos'è esattamente, perchè non si può dire, però... (si blocca per qualche secondo) aiuta molto perchè ti fa davvero dare una certa importanza a te stesso, prima magari ti credevi una nullità”*

(“parkour and capoeira are so much else, a thing that you start to learn after

countless years of training, I can't say what it is exactly... you really can't say, but [He thinks for few seconds]... but it helps, because you start to give credit to yourself, to build confidence, when before you might have seen yourself as a zero”)

≡ *“perchè il parkour è soprattutto una cosa mentale e purtroppo c'è gente che la pensa così e cos' rovina, rovina quello chela gente pensa del parkour”*

“Because parkour is mostly mental, and not just physical, but unfortunately there are a lot of people who do not think like this and my opinion they ruin it. They spoil what the people see and think of parkour”

≡ *“è una cosa mentale perchè piano piano vai ad allenare la tua testa a capire a come reagire in ogni situazione [...] ti aiuta molto anche perchè quando pratichi la disciplina ti rendi conto che, se prima camminavi in un posto, in un parco, una strada, ti rendi conto che [...] moltissime cose io ho smesso di avere paura, prima anche con le persone mi relazionavo in modo diverso, avevo molto paura di relazionarmi prima di iniziare ad allenarmi e invece con capoeira e parkour, non perchè ho conosciuto gente, ma per il fatto che ti devi per forza dare autostima, quindi tu per forza devi motivare te stesso a fare qualcosa, anche se le prime volte provi, cadi, ti fai male”*

“It's a mental thing because you slowly go to train your mind to understand how to react to every situation [...] it helps you to realize that if you walk in a park, in a street [...] I stopped to be afraid of a lot of things, before I engaged differently with people, I was afraid to interact with people before starting to train, instead with capoeira and parkour, not because I met people, but because you have to force yourself to have self-esteem, you have to motivate yourself to do something, to reach something, even though the first times you try, fall and hurt yourself”

B1) Engagement with urban and social spaces as a consequence of training

≡ *“invece la maggior parte delle persone che vedi allenarsi qui lo fanno perchè era isolato, si sentiva isolato, non socialmente, ma magari si sentiva isolato in famiglia”*

“Instead, most of the people you see training here, they do it because they feel isolated, you know, socially, but also within their own families”

≡ *“è capitato moltissime volte che così camminando per la strada normale , in jeans, vedi un muretto e provi un salto, è così, ti riscaldi un po' e poi provi...”*

“It happened so many times that casually walking by a street, in jeans, I saw a wall and tried a movement, like this, you warm up a bit and then try...”

≡ *“la prima cosa che noti quando vai in uno spazio mai visto sono i muri, le sbarre, lo spazio in cui puoi correre, l'altezza e la larghezza dei muro e delle sbarre”*

“The first thing you notice when you enter a space you have never been in are the walls, the bars, the space where you can run, height and width of fences”

C) Elements of daily life (family, work, educational choices...)

≡ *Ci siamo incontrati nella stessa classe per puro caso, perchè io in quella scuola neppure ci dovevo andare, perchè pochi giorni prima, l'iscrizione non l'avevo fatta a scuola, ho scelto una scuola a caso e quella scuola lì ho beccato, mi sono ritrovato in quella classe lì con loro due...*

(we met [with Marcos and Loris] in the same school grade by chance, I wasn't even supposed to go in that school, because few days before the school started I wasn't enrolled in any school, and I chose casually a school amongst those that were still accepting inscriptions, and then I found myself in the same class as those two...)

D) Ethnicity, Race, and Social Life

≡ *Si forse anche perchè venivamo da tre mondi molto diversi, sia come origini culturali, religiose, Loris con i genitori meridionali, poi Marocco, Romania, Perù, forse mondi diversi che praticamente si sono uniti e quindi le prime volte c'erano delle divergenze che andavano a sfociare in discussioni che ci portavano a tenere il broncio per un po' di tempo e un po', non so a farci... ci punzecchiavamo l'uno con l'altro nel primo periodo, questo anche nel primo periodo in cui abbiamo cominciato a fare capoeira e parkour è stato così...*

(Yes, maybe because we came from different worlds, in terms of origins, culture, religion, Loris' parents from South of Italy, then Morocco, Romania, Peru, so different worlds that came together and the first times there were divergences that became arguments and then we wouldn't talk to each other for a while or tease each other... it was like this throughout the first period we started to train capoeira and parkour...)

≡ *“Ma perchè senti come ti parlano dietro, senti come ti continuano a guardare, senti come ti mettono in soggezione, senti molte... però te ne accorgi, magari non te lo vanno a dire direttamente però te ne accorgi... quando sali sugli autobus, lo senti molto esplicito, lo senti in maniera diretta un giorno mi è capitato di salire su un autobus, questo solo per fare un esempio, c'era una signora anziana e le ho detto prego, si sieda, la signora ha detto di no, che non voleva sedersi, ma in maniera molto arrogante, poi proprio vicino a me c'era un ragazzo, italiano, io ero*

proprio vestito male quel giorno, con gli straccioni per fare parkour, boh quel ragazzo lì era italiano, ben vestito e tutto quanto, quel ragazzo ha detto signora si sieda e lei si è seduta. Io mi sono sentito molto... mi sono detto, ma magari puzzavo, mi sono annusato, no, non puzzavo”

“Because you hear how they talk behind you, how they keep on looking at you, they make you feel uncomfortable, you feel that... when you go on the bus it's very explicit, just to make an example, there was an old lady on the bus and I offered to give her my seat, then very close to me an Italian guys was sitting, very nice dressed and all, he offered her the seat and she sat by him. I felt a bit like... I told myself, maybe I am smelling, I was coming from training, I sniffed myself, no, I didn't smell”

≡ *“poi un'altra volta siamo andati in un locale di notte e non ci hanno fatto... a me non... cioè volevamo entrare io vado lì per chiedere una cosa alla sicurezza e mi fa, tu non puoi entrare, io gli ho detto perchè? Di dove sei scusa (facendo la voce di quello della sicurezza)? Gli ho detto in che senso di dove sono? Lui mi ha detto fammi vedere la carta d'identità per vedere se ero marocchino, o... gli stavo per, quasi quasi... gli ho detto guarda che ora come ora io sono cittadino italiano quindi ho gli stessi diritti di tutti questi che sono qui (in coda ndr), lui mi ha detto, non non puoi entrare, lì mi sono girate, non mi interessava che il tipo fosse grosso o meno, mi stavo per attaccare e loro mi hanno fermato, anche se poi ci avrei rimesso io non mi interessava, ma loro per fortuna mi hanno fermato, però ti senti molto escluso”*

“Then another time we went to a club, we were in the queue and I go to ask something to the security guy, and the security said I could not enter, I asked why and the guy as a response asked where am I from, I asked him what he meant, he asked me to show him my ID to check if I was Moroccan and I told him I am Italian as all these guys in the queue, the guys said he didn't care, I wouldn't enter

the club, then I got angry, and luckily my friends held me because I didn't care if I got beaten or what, I was out of myself, but I felt excluded”

≡ *“Quindi anche se in un foglio può essere scritto che sei cittadino italiano, se non lo dimostri (fa il gesto con la sua mano che mostra la propria immagine), può esserci scritto sui documenti ma finisce lì”*

“So even if on a paper [i.e. Id] it's written that you are an Italian citizen, if you don't show it (he indicates his face), it's written on the document, but it stops there”

≡ *“Comunque se quello si è preso la briga di non farmi entrare solo perchè sono marocchino davanti a tutte quelle persone è perchè lo ha fatto altre volte e se nessuno di quelli che erano lì ha detto niente è perchè lo hanno fatto altre volte e gli stava pure bene! Perchè se vedono un comportamento dalle genere da parte della sicurezza e non fanno niente è perchè come se fosse normale... c'era gente che si è messa pure a ridere”*

“Anyway if that security bothered to not allowing me in front of all those people just because I am Moroccan it is because it must have done it other times as well, and if nobody told him anything it is because they were okay with it! Because if they see a behaviour like this and they don't do anything it is because it is normal... there were even people who were laughing”

E) Comparison with previous sporting experiences

≡ *“poi da consiglio dei miei ho fatto calcio, solo che anche lì non mi sentivo a mio agio anche perchè mi sentivo molto isolato e poi ho incominciato a fare basket, solo che anche lì la squadra sembrava non accettarmi e cose del genere”*

≡ “Then after my parents' suggestion I enrolled in a football team, but there as well I did not feel at ease, I felt very isolated, then I started basketball, but there as well it seemed like the team would not accept me, and things like that...”

≡ *“Ma all'inizio il parkour non mi dava quello che mi da adesso, io mi allenavo e giorno giorno mi piaceva di più perchè quello che facevo lo facevo per me, non ero giudicato da nessuno, nessuno mi diceva cosa fare, non avevo la tensione, oddio sabato c'è la partita di calcio o di basket”*

“At the beginning parkour didn't give me it gives me now, I trained and day by day I liked it more, because what I did, I did it for me, nobody judged me, nobody told me what to do, I didn't have tension like, gosh, on saturday there's the football, or basket, match”

F) Relationship/comparison between capoeira and parkour

≡ *“dopo un anno di parkour ho iniziato capoeira, mentre facevo parkour e mi ha aiutato, perchè all'inizio dopo un anno pensavo che il parkour fosse solo saltare, saltare, saltare, invece in capoeira e parkour devi usare tutto il tuo corpo per fare tutti i movimenti possibili...”*

“After a year of parkour I started capoeira, and that helped me a lot, I learnt a lot of things, because after a year I thought parkour was jumping, jumping, jumping, instead in capoeira e parkour you have to use your whole body, you can mix the movements...”

G) Gender relationships in capoeira and parkour

≡ *“in altri paesi, ti sto parlando di Russia, Ucraina, Polonia, ci sono tantissime ragazze che vedi saltare, si sbucciano le ginocchia, semplice, per loro non c'è nessun problema, però questo perchè forse perchè in quei paesi se vedi una ragazza chi si allena per strada che fa work out alle sbarre per fare bicipiti, tricipiti tu ragazzo che passi di lì, anche se vuoi rimorchiare, ma neanche ti avvicini, ma non perchè hai paura che lei ti dà un pugno, ma perchè lei è lì che si sta allenando, stop! Mentre qui se vedi una ragazza che si allena alle sbarre ti dici, madonna che sexy, ti avvicini e le rompi i c., quindi la ragazza non si sente neanche a suo agio ad allenarsi in un posto pubblico di tarda sera magari o di prima mattina, dice no, non ci penso nemmeno, arriva il ragazzo di turno che mi rompe ogni due secondi”*

“In other countries, I am talking about Russia, Ukraine, Poland, you see a lot of girls practicing, working hard, for them there is no problem, this is maybe because in these countries if you see a girl working out, even if you want to hit on her, you don't even get close, not because you are scared she'll punch you, but because she is training, and that's it! Here instead if you see a girl working out in a park you think “this is sexy!” you get close and harass her, thus girls don't feel at ease to work out in a public space late in the evening or maybe early morning, they say “no, I don't want guys to come and harass me every two seconds!”

H) Contested (Urban) Spaces

≡ *“ma infatti se ti posso dire, ogni volta che ci mettiamo ad allenarci c'è sempre qualcuno che rompa, che sia il maschio che se ne sta al balcone che ti dice ma vai a lavorare cosa perdi tempo a fare queste cavolate e anche molti ragazzi della nostra età che non lo so magari si sentono... quando noi ci mettiamo a saltare spesso lì vicino ci sono altri gruppi di ragazzi che stanno seduti sulle panchine a parlare e via dicendo e spesso ci*

rompono, ci dicono ma perchè saltate? [...] è accaduta una volta che eravamo al lingotto e lì è arrivato un gruppo di circa 40-50 persone e noi eravamo in 6-7 con 3 ragazze, sono venuti e hanno attaccato proprio rissa con noi, hanno preso uno e lo hanno picchiato, poi volevano attaccarsi anche con le ragazze, allora noi abbiamo preso e abbiamo iniziato a correre e loro neanche ci hanno più visto”

“Every time we train there's always someone who harasses us, people telling us to get a job, or yobs of our age coming to tell us, why are you jumping here, this is our place [...] Once it happened in the Lingotto area, 40-50 guys came to attack us and we where 10, 7 boys and 3 girls, they came and they wanted to fight with us, then they took one of us and beat him up, then they wanted to beat the girls, so we got on the move, and left them behind”

≡ *“una volta che ci hanno fermati, ma lì eravamo entrati in una proprietà privata, abbandonata da moltissimi anni, quindi era in disuso, siamo entrati scavalcando, dopo 30-40 minuti usciamo, in quel momento lì un vecchietto allerta la polizia e ci vengono a fermare [...] ma le altre volte succedeva che i vigili urbani ci fermavano mentre saltavamo in un parco ad esempio e lì ci dava molto fastidio la cosa, perchè vedi i ragazzi che si mettono in piedi sulla panchina, se ne stanno lì in piedi e si mettono a fumare ed io che ci metto i piedi perchè sto facendo un salto mi vieni a dire che non posso mettere i piedi?! Cioè mi dà un po' fastidio, e cid dicono di spostarci, no, non potete saltare qui, no, non potete fare questo, quando il parco è assolutamente pubblico. Un giorno un vigile urbano, non so se te lo ricordi eravamo dietro al parco dora dove c'è il Mac, i due muretti, macchine che escono e due muretti, è arrivato un vigile che ha detto, qui non potete saltare perchè è proprietà privata, siamo andati a vedere sul sito dell'area per controllare e tutta quell'area lì è pubblica e quindi è come se ci stesse prendendo in giro”*

“Once they [the police] stopped us, because we entered in a private property, an abandoned factory that has been empty for a long time, we climbed over, stayed in 30-40 minutes, and then got out, but then an old man saw us and called the police, they must have been close, because they came straight away and stopped us, but that's alright, because we entered in a private property [...] other times happened that the *vigili urbani* [municipal police] stopped us while we were training in a park and well, that annoys me a bit... we are always been told to move away, “you can't jump here”, “no, you can't do this here” when the spaces we train are abso-fucking-lutely public [...] If in a public space one person, or a police man comes to me and tell me “you can't do that” if I'm not doing anything wrong, that really annoys me. One day municipal police sent us away by a public space behind the Mac, by the low walls, the policemen came and said “you can't jump here, that's private property”, we went to check on internet about it, and we discovered all the area there is public, so they just fooled us”

≡ *“Secondo me perchè noi andiamo a rovinare l'immagine che la gente dà di quel determinato posto ad esempio noi saltiamo in una discesa che serve per facilitare la salita dei condomini in un palazzo noi saltiamo lì e quei muretti a noi ci fa piacere saltare in quel posto lì, ma magari roviniamo l'immagine del palazzo, che è un palazzo appena costruito, magari lì c'è un negozio strafigo che ha appena aperto e roviniamo l'immagine, il negoziante fa una telefonata e dice guarda che non mi piace che quei ragazzi saltino lì che i clienti poi si allontanano e allora arriva il vigile che ti dice che lì non si può saltare che è pericoloso, secondo me penso che il motivo sia questo, non tanto per paura che ci facciamo male, se no andrebbe d a un giocatore di calcio e gli direbbe attento che ti fai male alla caviglia”*

“we go to ruin the image that people give to specific places we are training in. As for example, we train nearby the entrance of a building nearby Parco Dora, but the people living or working there think we are ruining the image of that building. Or

maybe nearby there's a brand new shop there, the owner thinks we are going to scare customers away; he makes a phone call saying 'I don't like that these guys train there, they scare customers' and here comes the police saying that you can't jump there, that it's dangerous or that it's private property when it isn't. ”

≡ *“come ti ho detto ci vorrebbe una Torino anche per quel 20% di persone che non hanno spazio in città, perchè l'80% c'ha già il posto per loro è pieno di posti dove metterli, invece l'altro 20%...”*

“As I told you already, there should be a Turin also for that 20% of people who don't have a space in the city, because the 80% have already places for them, instead that 20%...”

I) Identity, belonging, citizenship

≡ *“Sì, culturalmente sono marocchino, anche in ambito religioso, seguo la mia religione però non mi sento il tipico ragazzo marocchino che fa le cose che farebbe un tipico ragazzo marocchino e non mi sento nemmeno come un ragazzo italiano, anzi non ho nessun amico italiano, l'unico amico italiano è L... quindi sono marocchino e sono anche italiano, sulla carta, ma se per esempio ci fosse una rimpatriata di amici marocchini andrei lì e non saprei esattamente cosa fare e anche se ci fosse una rimpatriata di amici italiani anche lì mi siederei e non saprei cosa fare”*

“Yes, culturally I am Moroccan, and also religiously, I follow my religion but I wouldn't say I feel Moroccan, but I don't feel like the average Moroccan guy, as well I don't feel Italian for example I have only one Italian friend... Thus I am Moroccan, and also Italian on paper, but if there was a dinner with only Moroccan youth I'd go there and I wouldn't exactly know what to say and what to do, the same if at the same table there were only Italian youth, I'd sit there without exactly

knowing what to do...”

≡ *“da un momento all'altro potrei anche partire e andare in un altro posto, non c'è niente che mi lega a questo posto qui proprio zero, anche se sono sedici anni che sono qui”*

“I could leave and go somewhere else at any moment, there is nothing that attaches me here, nothing, even if it 16 years I live here”